

LEBANON: BOMBS OF WRATH MULRONEY: FIGHTING BACK

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

APRIL 29, 1996

The People Smugglers

Canada Is A Top
Destination In
The Global Trade
In Humans

.....

How Criminals
Victimize The
Innocent



\$3.50



Speak to the heart and the mind will follow.



Introducing the Acura 3.5RL \$52,300*

The new Acura 3.5RL was created to stir you emotionally and intellectually. You can see it in the painstaking attention to detail and functionality, and feel it in its command of the road. The roomy, relaxed atmosphere of the interior exudes casual luxury and comfort, from its plush leather-trimmed seats and six-disc CD changer to the rich walnut accents and advanced Automatic Climate Control System. Refinement abounds with a superbly quiet and smooth ride. And passionate attention to engineering has resulted in polished handling and deft response from a torque-tuned, 3.5-liter powerplant. All this makes the Acura 3.5RL an automobile that appeals to body and soul alike. Experience it at your Acura dealer.



ACURA

Designed with purpose.
Driven by passion.

Simply Delicious...

When you don't have time to make dessert, serve our spectacular Cherry Chocolate Pecan Cheesecake.

Take a SARA LEE Cherry Cheesecake from the freezer; (or try our Strawberry or Five Fruit varieties) slice, then thaw at room temperature for 30 minutes. Place each slice on an individual serving plate, sprinkle with chopped pecans or halves then drizzle with melted semi-sweet chocolate.

When your guests ask, "What's your favourite dessert?" you'll have the answer.

© 1996 Sara Lee Corporation. All rights reserved. For more information, visit www.saralee.com.



Me & Sara Lee®



Maclean's CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE This Week

APRIL 28, 1996 VOL 128 NO 18

Departments

EDITORIAL 4

LETTERS 6

OPINION NOTES/PAGES 14

COVER 16

DANCE 34

Reassurances and attacks on its integrity over the Somalia inquiry, Ottawa criticizes a new law over "contract security" status for Quebec. Marketable home-care workers go on strike, a Quebec City man searches for Clamper's grave.

PEOPLE 38

Indian voters are little different among contenders in the national election campaign; religious activists stage a hunger strike against Washington's Cuba policy.

BUSINESS 46

Siding evenly threatens a large Saskatchewan employer; why high gasoline prices may come down again later this year.

ENVIRONMENT 56

In the midst of Earth Week celebrations, environmentalists warn that cost-cutting governments could weaken laws that protect the continent's natural endowment.

SPORTS 68

In Chicago a Marquette tries to take the trophy out of Scotland's football.

PEOPLE 70

LIFE 62

Federal promises that would 'lose cheese' made from raw milk—valued as stronger and better tasting—sway cheese lovers.

BOOKS 64

THEATRE 70

Toronto's world festival of stage is almost as refined as it celebrates its 12th year.

Columns

FRED BRAWLING 32

ANTHONY WILSON BIRTH 34

ROSS LAMBY 50

PETER C. NEWMAN 64

ALLAN PEDERSEN/SHANE 72

Maclean's is also available on the Internet at <http://www.macleans.com/macleans> and on CompuServe (GO MACLEANS).

©1996 Maclean's Publishing Group and Group of Editors. All rights reserved. Printed in Canada. Printed on recycled paper.

Cover

16

The people smugglers

A new breed of global outlaws are earning billions trafficking in a precious cargo: human beings. After smuggling has become a growth business worth up to \$5.5 billion a year—and Canada is a prime target. An exclusive report examines two key operators.



Features

38

The bombs of wrath

Israeli shells hit more than 320 refugees at a Lebanese UN base, sparking international outrage and fueling efforts to end Israel's war with Hezbollah.



64

A Tory loyalist, and a victim

New books from former Mulroney aide Hugh Segal and ex-prime minister Kim Campbell tell different stories on the Tory party and its electoral rout.



24 Fighting back

In a historic court appearance, former prime minister Brian Mulroney testified out at the federal government for using "secret" tactics to link him to the so-called Airbus affair.

From The Editor

When mandarins gather

Sudden death overtime hockey? It was not, but the normally staid and sober annual dinner of the Public Policy Forum last week produced an unexpected sociological patch-up between two icons of the Canadian quadrumate.

The issue was the tone and substance of governing in the 20th, and the coast-to-coast offering of rosters and shadings from business, politics and the public service heard two viewpoints. If distinct, views of how governments should be treating people. Representing the conservatives was Jim Fleck, industrialist, business professor and erstwhile Ontario cabinet secretary who ran the civil service for premier Bill Davis in the mid-1970s. For the liberals, there was Al Johnson, deputy minister of finance in Saskatchewan during the NDP government in the 1960s and early 1980s, who moved to Ottawa and shaped a proration of social policy before taking over as head of the CBC. It was Woodstock for policy wonks, an odd-fashioned evening of evasive and erudite discourse, an intricate reality of the divisions on the national landscape.

Fleck lauded the New Zealand experiment, where the deficit has been turned into a surplus and taxes reduced, and job and literacy. He added, "Deficit control, smaller government and better quality public services have sold well for Tories in Alberta, Liberals in New Brunswick and New Democrats in Saskatchewan. Why should it be different in Ontario?"

For his part, Johnson dismissed "arbitrary, carpet-bombing cuts" in which there is "no policy-making, no analysis of options, no consideration of the principles at stake, such as spin-building—just cut." He marvelled that a former federal secretary to cabinet—Paul Tiller, although he did not name him—once boasted that the government was "lean and mean" and wondered



Later protest in Kitchener: Out: the public good?

shareholders," the old sense of public service dictates that "we all have something to contribute to the public good." That means, for example, that corporations have a responsibility to shape values and "to lead by the example of how they treat employees, especially in times of downsizing."

In an era of shrill public debates, simplistic solutions and self-serving rhetoric, the thoughts of the veterans were refreshing in their subtlety, even if they lacked the flash of an Ottawa scrum or a demonstration in the streets. Johnson and Fleck also bantered back to a different era, one when the cash flowed and bureaucrats held sway in their departments. As Fleck put it in a private reference, there used to be a saying in the deputy minister's office: "If a man size calls, get a name!"

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

A global investigation

Senior writer Paul Kishla, an eight-year veteran of Maclean's, spent two months investigating the shadowy activities of alien smugglers for this week's cover story. He and other reporters conducted interviews in eight countries with sources as diverse as government officials in Washington and gang members in Toronto. The result is a detailed inside look at



Kishla: the trade in illegal migrants

a global trade that victimizes both taxpayers in countries like Canada and tens of thousands of desperate migrants around the world. For Kishla, the most poignant image was that of Israeli families awaiting refugee hearings with Canadian authorities in a hotel in Buffalo, N.Y. "They are just waiting to come across, right under our noses," he said. Kishla's other recent investigative stories detailed the activities of cocaine king Bernardo Arévalo, and, with Senior Editor Ross Lavee, revealed links between former governor general Ed Schreyer and the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. Both those cover stories were nominated last week for the Canadian Association of Journalists' annual award for outstanding investigative journalism.

PHOTO: BOSS; COVER: MICHAEL; PHOTO: BOSS; PHOTO: BOSS



BOSS
HUGO BOSS

Photograph by Richard Avedon

The April 8 cover package, "Is God a woman?" provoked an exceptionally emotional response from readers. Several tore off the cover and returned it to Maclean's with vehement notes. Others wrote that they found the cover so offensive they



threw their magazines in the garbage, instead. Many, however, thanked Maclean's for raising a complex and intriguing issue. This week's ideal section is devoted to a selection from the flood of letters that the issue produced.

Some religions have taught us that we are the whole purpose of this planet's design. Is God a woman? No, and neither is God a man.

Josée F. Kennedy
Cochran, Ont.

I received the April 8 issue of Maclean's on Holy Thursday, the start of the Christian Easter triduum, and the day on which Christ sacrificed

for himself. I have no doubt that this was planned as neither an attack by "the gates of hell" against the church. In light of the person you chose to lead off your cover story, may I suggest that you would have made

a bigger impact and be in scarier to the truth if you had titled it "From convert to convert."

John K. G. Stone,
President, Society for Catholic Life and Culture,
Pickering, Ont.

I grew up with Maclean's, but the love affair is over. Please stop trying to be so bold.

Ann Tapp,
Calverton, N.S.

This anthropomorphic concept that a god in its natural state looks like a human being is so patently absurd and medieval that I find it hard to believe anyone could still seriously hold it to be true.

Jeffrey H. Taylor,
Winnipeg, MB

Who authorized you to designate the religious symbols of a nation as troubled as ours? An apology is in order.

Daniel M. Russell,
Luttwid, Ont.

Thank you very much for the cover story at Easter time. Many of us who have been

Rituals, rites, cults

These women who turn to rituals, rites and New Age cults in their search for a feminine side to spirituality ignore a fundamental of religion: the belief in the real. Religion is not a trend observed with events and incantations that are arising as a passing fancy, it is either a belief that these rituals are supposed to have a higher significance. Trying to work that one does not believe must does not fulfil this role. Those who turn to this New Age spirituality will find themselves no closer to an answer. In addition, neither conservative nor renaissance should need too much into the fact that Christ's disciples were all male. In the absence of a quota system, perhaps the 12 most qualified people at the time happened to be men.

Doree Ford,
Cambridge, England/UK

moving consciously towards a woman-centred image of ourselves appreciated the respect and evocative interest. Having made such a good beginning, I hope that you will continue to review progress, books and other events that represent a major and formative way of viewing women that is healthy and bold.

Betty Davidson,
Faculty of education,
University of Calgary,
Calgary, AB

When I became a witch in 1983, posing the tiny religion of the goddess as it then was, the whirlwind had barely begun to blow. I agree with the conservative Christians that images of powerful women and the divine female are incompatible with Christianity. Christianity is patriarchal to the core and has been for virtually all of its history. But leaving women out of the world of the spirit or keeping them subordinate is an obvious travesty. Even more, where all life is threatened by the hellish actions of a humanity that overwhirls into the world of nature as soulless and dead, we need to reawaken the goddess in ourselves. We must find the goddess, the soul of nature, for more than gender justice—for the salvation of life on Earth.

Sharon Hager,
Mississauga, B.C.

I would like to correct the remarks attributed to me regarding the importance for Catholic women of Mary Moore's decision to renounce Christianity. The isolated remark makes it appear that women are on their way out of the church in droves because Mary has left. That shows great disrespect for the struggle, individually and

How to live beyond your means.



Grace Chan
President, Sutherland Clinic
School & Teaching Clinic

I've worked hard for my money. And now it's working hard for me. But I want it to do more. I want it to work for the community too. That's why I've planned a gift to support Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital.

The people at Mount Sinai Hospital showed me how I could buy a life insurance policy payable over a five-year period, that results in a charitable tax receipt and cuts the cost of

my premiums in half. And as beneficiary, Mount Sinai gains a sound, long-term investment. Not only do I make the most of my contributions, but I know that my gift will help support a hospital that provides inspired teaching and the best research and medical care in the world. I can't think of a better way to

make my money work for my community, not only during my lifetime, but beyond.



Who says you can't live beyond your means?

Mount Sinai Hospital has expert gift planners who can customize your giving to fit your needs. For a free copy of YOUR ESTATE RECORD and PLANNING GUIDE, please call (416) 586-8203 or fax (416) 586-8638.



FOUNDATIONS FOR LIFE
600 University Avenue
Toronto, Ontario M5G 1X5

Your article on the practical implications of women's spirituality leaves one with capacity towards the feminists. In spite of the archaicness of books in our world that only men are created in God's image, isn't it time that we acknowledge that that belief in the supreme example of male arrogance, conceived long ago when, in our ignorance, we considered Earth the centre of the universe. Our egotistic assumption that we resemble God implies that the four billion years of evolution on this planet has resulted in death with those sapiens and will now stop. Might I ask why religion cannot consider that an omniscient and omnipotent God is synonymous with nature and absolutely beyond our comprehension? Also, it appears that our age will not allow us to abandon man's arrogant self-image of God be-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
should be addressed to:
Maclean's Magazine Letters
777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5G 1A7
Tel: (416) 596-1728
E-mail: letters@compuserve.com
Maclean's welcomes readers' comments. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please supply names, addresses and daytime telephone numbers. Subscribers may appear in Maclean's electronic edition.

ClubLink, We're not just great for golf, we're good for business.

A corporate membership in a ClubLink course lets you share your and your company. It lets you appreciate quality and thus you can enough to entertain business associates at a truly exceptional golf club.

With ClubLink, you'll enjoy all the prestige and privilege of private membership at some of the finest courses in Canada. And, as always, your club membership entitles you to our seasonal privileges - access to all of ClubLink's outstanding courses. You'll never stain a green, or a business opportunity.

So get the membership that means great golf and better business.

Proving yet again, that great golf is all in your club selection.



CLUBLINK
CORPORATION

For Personal or Corporate Membership Details
1-800-661-1818



THE MAIL

commonality of many Christians with church history, language, structure and decisions. It also does a disservice to those who respect Mary, as I do. She speaks straight up of that struggle, knowing that doctrine, seeking people will find their own relationship with God. For me, and for many other women and men, that continues to be within the community of the Catholic-Christian church.

Loana Stohas,
Toronto

Having read your cover story, all I can say is—I am in debt, and I thank God for it.

Steve Hertz
Wilmington, Calif.

I have to disappoint the ladies, but we in North America, at least, know that God for certain is a man. Why, only a few weeks ago he was traded from the Los Angeles Kings to the St. Louis Blues.

Dennis J. Taylor,
Cincinnati, Ont.

You people ought to be jailed for discriminating against a religious group.

Jameson Cook,
Surrey, B.C.

As a conservative Christian, I have become accustomed to my beliefs being vilified by the media. This was not the case with your article and I am glad. Frankly, I do not think of God as a man or a woman. God has attributes of both. That the writers of the Bible chose to use the male pronoun for God is something I choose to accept and not tangle with. As a woman, I do not find this offensive. I know that God creates each woman as highly as any man. Out of respect for the sacredness of scripture, I cannot use the pronoun "she" for God, although I believe that God truly is both my Father and Mother.

Debra Sturgeon,
Edmonton

The picture on the cover, which gives the appearance of a female Christ hanging on a cross, trivializes Jesus' crucifixion and

death in a way that is insulting, shameful and disrespectful. To publish this cover during Holy Week, when Jesus' suffering and passion are being especially remembered, hurts Christians in a way too deep to express by mere words.

J. Leanne Hart,
Belton, Ont.

As one who has been involved in the development of the new Presbyterian hymnbook since 1989, I was surprised to see the word "storing" used to describe the pro-

cess. Beginning in 1991, successive general assemblies of the church have enthusiastically received and approved reports from the new hymnbook task force, adding the adoption of guidelines relating to inclusive human language and the use of metaphors to describe God.

Rev. Keith E. Ains,
Greenwood, The Unitarian and
The Presbyterian Church of Canada,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

The church is better off without these women and their radical views

I wish Martin's would give as much space to defend my God as they give the female activists.

Herman Bengel,
Monter, Minn.

Satan is once again using "she" for his misdeeds. Satan knows that man is but prey in the hands of women. We are in the end times, and God did say beware of false prophets.

Paul St. Jacques,
North Bay, Ont.

Unfortunately, the concept of one God must include the concept of unlimited emotions. To argue gender, or any other aspect of God, as to argue God's limitations. If God is subject to limitations, the entire concept of God becomes invalid.

David Kishik,
Fitchburg, N.C.

Sepentifikan belongs to the age of ignorance. It's time we outgrow this kind of pointless speculation. There are real issues waiting to be solved.

Roberta Doss,
Windsor, Ont.

Your cover and article ridiculed and offended the Apostle who has read anything in the Bible known that man is always referred to as "father," "he" or "him."

Doris E. Moore,
Regina

In one of the five great spiritual sayings of Midwesterners, the "Upstate"ers, the "Heaven" lower divided this idea down to a more elegant form, namely "God alone is," or as I like to render it, "God, alone is." And this accords with the Judeo-Christian account, that God created the universe out of

Fitting that your cover story came just three weeks after I witnessed the birth of my first child. It can safely answer this question by saying that if God was a woman, man surely would give birth.

Diane Webb,
Elmer, Ont.

Maclean's

Canada's Most Influential Magazine

Editor: Robert Lewis

Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes

Deputy Managing Editor: Peter Hynes



Water the way nature intended.

With Brita® Water Filtration Systems, crystal clear, great tasting water is as close as your faucet.

Like nature, Brita is beautifully simple. Just fill the spout with tap water. The patented, replaceable filter goes straight to work reducing chlorine taste and odors, as well as sediment, water hardness and copper. It even removes over 90% of lead.

In just minutes you can enjoy water the way nature intended. And you won't have to travel any further than your kitchen.

And now, that great Brita taste is available in a variety of different shapes and sizes.

BRITA®
Water Filter Systems

Also, try a free Water Filtration System Guide. Brita Carolina is a permitted user of the mark.

An American View



Fred Bruning

Rogue cops and civilian beatings

Police brutality is nothing new in the United States, but a recent rash of high-profile cases makes one wonder if cops are so alienated from the ordinary Joe that they would just as soon knock him silly as bind him a traffic ticket.

Thanks to videotape, we have seen Los Angeles police lieutenant Rodney King like a two-by-four. We have watched the black woman Sandra Taylor driving through South Carolina only to be stopped by some burly cops at a highway patrolman, dragged from her car, cursed like she was an enemy beller and made to lie on the pavement while Mr. Law and Order tried to determine whether he had apprehended a runaway Claudia Munroe or just some nice lady from Miami heading north on vacation. The guy was such a dope that he misidentified Taylor knowing that his on-board TV camera was running. Must be that he didn't think he'd get in trouble for beating up an innocent black lady in broad daylight.

Just a couple of weeks ago, Americans again got to observe their crack heads in action when deputies in Riverside, Calif., chased a bunch of illegal workers fleeing in a baited truck, set upon the driver and a passenger, and clubbed them while a helicopter news crew shot dramatic pictures. If restraint is part of police training, the cops in question must have been absent when the fine points of discipline were taught. Even another incident on the same reported back to a supervisor that the arresting officers "were really walking on those guys."

And in case anybody has forgotten, we last year became acquainted with a social animal called Mark Fuhrman of the Los Angeles police force, who, no matter how he performed in the course of investigating the O.J. Simpson murder case, was his way clear to reple a wannabe screenwriter from North Carolina with hours of lewdish ruminations about how great and intense a cop he was and how much trouble the decent fellows of the department endured, what with all the "niggers" running around loose.

New York City? The reputation of police in certain precincts is such that a federal district judge earlier this year threw out the evidence—80 lb. of cocaine and heroin and a videotaped confession—in a drug conspiracy case because he found the alleged criminal more credible than the cops. Significantly, Judge Harold Baer Jr. said that men who reportedly ran from the scene after having dropped two child-like bags in the trunk of the suspect's car probably had good reason to slip.

Baer and given the "corrupt, abusive and violent" officers assigned to the local precinct, the alleged drug dealers would have been fools to stick around. "Had the men not run when the cops began to stare at them, it would have been disastrous," Baer said. The

case became a national issue soon enough because politicians, including President Bill Clinton and Republican presidential hopeful Bob Dole, said Baer had covered up the criminals. Unfortunately, the judge soon enough caved in to the politicians. He apologized to the cops and said new evidence demands that the case be tried after all—evident that each what is supposed to be an independent judicial system isn't vulnerable to pressure from Washington and police department brass. Not a pretty sight.

But this sort of episode is the price we pay for officers who too often operate outside the law. And anyone who thinks brutal police behavior is rare ought to test that theory by spending a Saturday evening in the parts of town populated by blacks or Latinos or folks considered white trash. Community incidents in these grim runways say much treatment is the rule and not the exception. When some pompous mayor or police chief gets on television after the latest nightmarish jailhouse to say such excesses are unusual and that there are bound to be a few "bad apples" in the barrel, people in poor neighborhoods laugh him off. It's not a few apples that have worms, they say, but the barrel itself that seems ready to crawl away.

Are there good cops? Of course, and plenty of them. That's not the point. The point is that cops are supposed to be good—all of them. Cops are the most obvious symbol of a civilized society. They are the ones charged with keeping chaos in check and with keeping between the people who obey the rules and those who ignore them. This is important and noble work, and it should not be left to just anybody. Being a cop is a high calling, and anyone howl—sometimes the very decent money—should offer more than brains, brawn and a hankering for the butt of a gun on his hip.

Cops should be well schooled, introspective and philosophical. Police tests should better identify the bunnies and show-offs so that they can be disqualified—not rewarded with badges and automatic weapons. All cops should show respect—not scorn—for the people on their beats. They should be in the places they work, not out to cozy communalities where harsh situations are apt to be reinforced. Regardless of their race, officers show little respect for a city and its people if they look for the burbs at the end of the day.

No one wants to put the police in jeopardy. Officers must be able to protect themselves against the staggering evils of modern society and against the deluded and dangerous people who would harm them and us. Sometimes the nightstick is the only alternative, and sometimes the cop must reach for his gun, too—who would say otherwise? That random violence against the citizenry—especially its most vulnerable members—is intolerable.

When they do their jobs, cops earn our admiration. The respect as the force—and there are too many of them—have to learn once and for all that they can't get respect by beating it out of us.

Fred Bruning is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

How criminals target Canada and victimize the innocent in a global trade in humans

The People Smugglers

BY PAUL KAHILA

The fierce African sun was breaking over the vast plain as a small convoy of jeeps and trucks wound its way past mud-brick and redbrick farmhouses with roofs of corrugated metal. Two dozen-odd members of Kenya's immigration enforcement unit and the national police's elite special forces were bearing in on a four-room house in Kisumu, a dusty village in Kenya's coffee belt, near the capital city of Nairobi. The foreign-clad men were equipped for a minor war. Starephooters took up positions around the house. Then a squad of burly officers, brandishing Uzi machine guns, stormed the front door. Inside, the officers discovered five terrified foreigners sleeping on dirty mattresses in a tiny room. The weary host, emerging from the master bedroom with his hands raised, was a well-groomed man with a cold stare—a Canadian citizen who was born in St. Louis as Sakakawasa Sakakawasa, but now known to friends and local elites simply as Rajan.

The mid last month on the ramshackle house in its secure Third World village had, improbably, exposed one link in an elaborate international network that has moved tens of thousands of illegal migrants from the island nation of St. Louis to Europe and Canada. In fact, Rajan, the mastermind of the cell broken up by the Kenyans, is just one of thousands of operatives who make up a new breed of modern global scoundrels. They use the same techniques and ethics as international drug traffickers, but their cargo is far more precious: human beings.

As the world turns, any number of human traffickers are shipping clients along circuitous routes in jeeps, trains, boats and cars to the economic clutches of North America, Western Europe and East Asia. The numbers are undocumented, but experts say that smugglers will move as easy as four million illegal migrants last year to rich countries like the U.S. and Canada, along with the United States and Germany, is a prime destination. After arriving in the target country, the smugglers' desperate clients claim refugee status or go underground and take manual jobs. In the worst cases, they become indentured servants to the smugglers, often working as prostitutes. Some die on the way. For that privilege, the migrants had over every family fortune—up to \$75,000 for each body smuggled—because

A Tamil family awaiting a refugee hearing in Buffalo: desperate clients

of a stark reality: a passport in the Third World can increase its price by as much as 20 times simply by crossing a few borders. "What the public does not realize," says Edward McCabe, one of the U.S. immigration and naturalization service's top experts in alien smuggling, "is that right now there are tens of thousands of people on the move around the world trying to get into Canada or the United States, and millions and millions of dollars are being made."

Bhutan, actually, according to Jonas Widgren, a former UN official who heads the Vienna-based International Centre for Migration Policy Development, an independent think-tank funded by eight European governments. According to a study that Widgren presented to an international conference on migration in Geneva in 1994, the smugglers are enriching themselves by as much as \$0.5 billion a year. That is more than twice the annual earnings of the notorious Medellín cocaine cartel at the busy peak of its power. For the smugglers, they left-out between five-star hotels and exotic nightclubs, all the while tarnishing the image of hundreds of thousands of legitimate immigrants and refugees with their illicit activities.

The Internet gangsters are constantly hitting the globe for weaknesses, detecting free human cargo along routes that shift according to the moods of bilateral visa treaties, and gaps in airport and border security. To them, borders are mere inconveniences to be circumvented with lies, bribery or forged passports. "One week, you'll have a group of Chinese coming through Western Europe because the traffickers have bribed someone at an airline check-in counter," says Col. Fred Bowser, a veteran alien smuggling investigator with the RCMP in Toronto. "But authorities will clamp down there and the next week you'll find the same group trying to bring a load in through Norway. It's surreal."

The world trade in humans has skyrocketed in the past decade. According to Widgren, global revenues from such smuggling were about \$2.4 billion five years ago, and



Thomas Rajan (right): a new breed of global scoundrels who make millions smuggling humans



have roughly tripled since then. The United Nations estimates that there are about 125 million migrants throughout the world—and Widgren says that as many as 15 million of them were transported to their present countries by professional smugglers. According to Bowser, the number of alien smugglers bringing people to Canada has increased tenfold during the past decade. In Toronto alone, the RCMP has identified 50 major traffickers, each of whom is importing 300 clients annually. In addition to Canada's high standard

of living, a large multicultural population and generous social benefits make the country an attractive destination. But more important, says Widgren, is the perception among smugglers—and their clients that Canada is easy to infiltrate.

Most of the illegal migrants apply for refugee status once





Thomson (right) with his father in Singapore; born into a poor family

Smugglers advise most of their clients to make phoney refugee claims

they reach Canada. The country's acceptance rate of refugees is much higher than that of almost all other developed nations—70 per cent, compared with 17 per cent for the United States and some per cent in Germany. Use the low end. Finland's is 0.36 per cent.) Says Widgren: "The Canadian asylum system has been, in comparison with the American and European ones, turned to Norway."

Of the 380,000 refugees that Canada accepted between 1980 and 1985, according to Bowen and even some immigration department officials, 90 per cent contacted smugglers. The U.S. immigration service's McCabe says the figure is even higher. During the past two months in Montreal alone, three loads of smuggled Syrians have arrived by air, nine Sri Lankans via Brank, another flight with more than 50 Chinese, and a small plane carrying 16 Chinese nationals, which had taken off from Buenos Aires and refueled in the Caribbean.

All the arrivals—except for those who jumped over the airport fence—were taken to Bowen's "It's an epidemic." It is as an epidemic now, some experts foresee a plague in the future. Thomas Homer-Dixon, director of the University of Toronto's Peace and Conflict Studies program, argues that organized illegal immigration will emerge as one of the major issues facing Western governments in the next century. He and other experts cite projections showing that the world's population will almost double by the year 2020. Ninety-five per cent of that growth will take place in poor countries that are already producing refugees and, they say, are likely to experience widespread turmoil as rival groups fight over increasingly scarce resources.

In the United States, President Bill Clinton has already given the issue top priority. His administration has increased the immigration service's budget by 75 per cent to \$3.5 billion since 1980. And last year, Clinton appointed a task force composed of immigration service, FBI, CIA and drug enforcement officials to combat what they call "smuggling." "We think this is a very big problem both in terms of numbers and human harm," said Robert Bach, an associate commissioner with the immigration service, in an interview in his Washington office. "It's a threat to our borders and to our national security."

While illegal immigrants move across the world using a variety of ploys, Rajan's career provides a fascinating glimpse into the intriguing underworld of highly organized and highly profitable alien smuggling. It begins with one of the bigger firms in that racket, 40-year-old Nagarmuttu Thangarajah. Born to a poor farming family outside Sri Lanka's minority Tamil population, he is known as "Thomson" to friends and family and is invariably described as brilliant despite having only completed primary school. His early poverty led to an obsession for fine clothes, five-star hotels and cars (he keeps up to eight at a home in Nairobi). "Thomson will not help anybody unless he can make money out of it," a former employee in his alien smuggling business told *McGraw's* in Sri Lanka's

capital, Colombo. "He is a multinational man in any country."

Thomson left Sri Lanka in 1970 and made a successful refugee claim in what was then West Germany. Working there as a cookbook, he became a popular figure in the tiny Sri Lankan community and made his first connections in the alien smuggling business. In late 1985, he returned to Sri Lanka and took a job as a ticketing agent with a Colombo travel agency that was two years after the outbreak of Sri Lanka's devastating civil war in which Tamil guerrilla groups—led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam—have fought for independence from the country's Sinhalese majority. Capitalizing on the turmoil, Thomson began smuggling middle-class Tamils to Western countries through Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia

and the Philippines. Among his early clients were his immediate family: according to a former associate, he smuggled his parents and 20 siblings to England, one sibling to Germany and another to Canada. A brother-in-law lives in Toronto.

In 1987, according to members of Thomson's family, Thomson recruited Rajan to oversee his fast-growing syndicate's African and Canadian operations. It was the same year that Canada granted landed immigrant status to Rajan, who turns 37 next month. Like Thomson, Rajan is a Tamil who grew up in a modest home with five siblings. Raised by a railway station manager and a schoolteacher in Sri Lanka, Rajan went to West Germany as a refugee in the early 1980s. "The always had it as his dream to go abroad, live high and have a lot of girls," says a former classmate now living in Toronto.

On Nov. 1, 1985, Rajan applied for refugee status in Canada. Shortly after his claim was approved two years later, he sponsored a younger brother and his father to come to Canada. In turn, Rajan's father sponsored another son and a daughter. Rajan's mother, a second wife and two brothers-in-law also now live in Canada, but it is not clear how they entered the country. According to the former classmate, many of Rajan's family members live in subsidized apartments in public housing projects in Toronto. Rajan did not respond to written requests for an interview that a *McGraw's* reporter took at his parents' apartment, but his official address.

Tamil Tiger provides aid to a people hard hit by Sri Lanka's devastating civil war



Illegal Chinese migrants under guard after their first landing near San Francisco; ethnic gangs

in Manila, Hong Kong, Singapore and India. The purpose of the fake travel documents is to trick agents at airport checkpoints. Passengers cannot usually board international flights without producing identification that shows they have a right to travel to their country of destination. Airlines that board travelers without valid documents are routinely fined by Canada and other countries.

The vast majority of migrants who are smuggled to Canada are counseled by smugglers to make phoney refugee claims, often under false names. A dip sheet found in 1989 in the baggage of a Tamil, possibly a client of Thomson's, is typical. "You must tell them lies in such a way that [the Canadian immigration officer] must be able to believe you," it says. It advises clients to claim that their house was destroyed, that they were arrested by the army and beaten "just give them since die," the paper con-

cludes. "When the officer asks you this, tell him: if you are telling lies, I will die."

According to the RCMP, as many Tamil migrants who come to Toronto arrive via the United States. Typically, smugglers provide them with doctored Canadian passports that give them the right to enter the United States without a visa. The Tamils clear U.S. immigration by claiming that they live in Canada, and intend to visit the United States for a five-day holiday returning home. Instead, an escort catches the phoney travel documents and the clients clear immigration, and people them for the need of clients. The passengers then travel directly to Buffalo, N.Y., and make a refugee claim at one of four nearby Canadian border stations (page 22). The smugglers direct the clients to two establishments in Buffalo—the Red Carpet Inn and a church-fronted hotel called *Yin La Casa*—where the claimants wait for their hearings. *Yin La Casa's* records show that last year the church provided shelter to 237 Sri Lankans and 679 Sinhalese who made refugee claims in Canada. On any given day, 20 to 40 Tamils can be found at the Red Carpet Inn awaiting hearings.

But the Buffalo route was not the one used by Rajan, who asked that his full name not be used, when Thomson smuggled him to Canada in 1986. Rajan, 26, says that he and four other Tamils all left Sri Lanka in 1986. Rajan says he was smuggled to Toronto by Thomson \$12,000 each for his services. Rajan says that Thomson arranged for him to fly from Colombo to Malindi via Singapore. In Malindi, Rajan's group was hosted by agents of Thomson's who were in the process of smuggling 15 other Tamils to Germany. Next, the smuggling network sent Rajan and his four companions to Nairobi, where they met 30 more clients of Philip Turner, awaiting passage to the West. On the final leg, Rajan's group flew to Montreal and boarded a charter flight to Cuba with a refueling stop in Gander, Nfld., which is where the Tamils made their refugee claims. Rajan told immigration officers that Sri Lankan police had jailed and beaten him three months earlier.

At the time of Rajan's trip, Rajan's role in Thomson's organization was to shepherd clients through Africa, and procure false travel documents for them. Rajan says he was smuggled to Toronto by Canadian visitors' visas into each of the Sri Lankan passports carried by the members of his group. "I know the visa was counterfeit because he was the one who signed it," says Rajan.

Two years later, Canadian authorities arrested Rajan when he was caught at Lashari's airport with 160 forged travel documents in his baggage. The material included nine Canadian passports, 100 Canadian visas, 12 Canadian certificates of entry, 12 Canadian visas, 26 British entry certificates, 10 French visas, 30 German permanent residence visas, 39 Malaysian passports and 50 Singaporean passports—all of which were counterfeit. Rajan told police that he received the papers from a "Mr. Babu" in Madras, India, which is the centre of that country's 50-million-strong Tamil community. Rajan's lawyer, Thomas (Yin La Casa) from Colombo to Madras, Bombay, Nairobi and London, and then back to Nairobi and Bombay in the space of a few days. A Zambian court convicted Rajan of a minor immigration offence, and handed him a suspended sentence of 12 months' hard labour. He was deported to Canada.

Thomson has had brushes with the law, but escaped serious punishment each time. In 1987, Singaporean police jailed him for a month when he was caught with a large number of legal Singaporean passports he had apparently purchased from poor residents for more than \$1,000 each in order to smuggle Tamils through the country. According to Sri Lankan investigators, Thomson was deported to Sri Lanka and permanently barred from entering Singapore, although, the investigators say, he has done so many times since, then using fake identification.

But another controversy was Thomson's detention in Colombo in 1988 after 17 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees were held at the capital's



THOMSON'S FATHER (RIGHT) WAS A FORMER CLASSMATE OF THOMSON'S.

OUTWARD BOUND

Countries that produce the most illegal migrants

Mexico
China
Iran
Iraq
Turkey
Somalia
Ethiopia
India
Pakistan
Sri Lanka

For some migrants, the risks can include death

COVER

support and named him to authorities as the main responsible. By that time, Thavorn was a rich man. According to former clients, he had links to Bangkok sources and a former portfolio leader now in government politics. Thavorn has made large donations to the Tories, and two former rebel groups that have since won spots in parliament. And according to a relative of Thavorn's who requested anonymity, Thavorn escaped conviction in 1988 by paying a \$25,000 bribe to a senior police official.

Sri Lankan intelligence officials say that Thavorn now owns retail businesses in Colombo, London and Paris, and holds bank accounts in those cities as well as in Switzerland, Holland, Kenya, Singapore, Malaysia and India. In addition to his Nairobi residence, he owns two houses in Colombo and several properties registered in the names of relatives. "He has lots of India, too," says Suri.

At some point during the early 1990s, Thavorn and Rajan entered into a bitter rivalry. Since then, Rajan has resided in his swagging house—and an Internet site called the Zam Zam. Two of Rajan's clients say that the man became enemies after a personal dispute involving a woman. Others say the fight was over money. Associates say that Thavorn feared that Rajan and two other men were plotting to kill him in Nairobi earlier this year. According to a relative in Colombo, Thavorn gave a Mercedes-Benz to a senior Kenyan immigration official, and paid smaller bribes to three police officers, in order to have Rajan deported. Days after the raid in the village of Kamula last month, Kenyan authorities sent Rajan to Canada, and deported the five Tamil he was apparently smuggling back to Sri Lanka. Rajan is currently staying with friends and relatives in Toronto, and according to a community source is being hunted by thugs sent by Thavorn.

According to Sri Lankan intelligence and other sources, Thavorn, Rajan and their partners have smuggled up to 5,000 people to the West during the past decade or so. The last known group smuggled by Thavorn consisted of six Tamils he sent to England last month. Suri estimates that Rajan personally smuggled about 200 Tamils to Canada. A former client of Rajan, who is now a refugee claimant in Holland, says that the man abandoned him and his girlfriend in Mauritius after they paid him more than \$200,000 to get to Europe. "People should be shocked by Rajan any more," the man said in a telephone interview. "He shouldn't be able to take their money."

The gangs that traffic in humans are almost always organized along ethnic lines, and Tamils are by no means the only smugglers bringing illegal aliens to Canada. According to the RCMP's Bureau and other agencies, Somali, Vietnamese and Pakistani applicants have been smuggling people to Canada for years, and last year charge between \$12,000 and \$16,000 per person. (The price for Tamils has risen to \$20,000.) South American

networks are also active. Luzmila Del Carmen Goding, an immigration consultant from Chile who is now a Canadian citizen, is awaiting trial in Toronto for smuggling dozens of South Americans to Canada through Mexico at \$5,000 a head. And last month, Argentine police broke up a ring that was sending Indian refugees to Canada and the United States through Argentina and Brazil. The Russian mafia has entered the scene, too. Jim Pulao, a U.S. state department official who co-chairs Canada's anti-smuggling task force, says there are currently 205,000 illegal migrants in Moscow in transit to the West.

And Tamils are not the biggest alien smugglers in the world. That distinction belongs to Taiwanese-based gangs. According to William Myers, a former immigration lawyer for Asian clients who now heads the Philadelphia-based Center for the Study of Asian Organized Crime, Chinese gangs smuggled 100,000 people a year to the United States alone between 1990 and 1993, often using Canada as a conduit. Last year, 79 Chinese paid smugglers \$50,000 each, and entered the United States via Canada by posing as millionaire investors. Only one has been prosecuted since then. The immigration service's McCabe says that his unit has identified more than a dozen major smuggling operations based in Toronto's Asian community that send migrants to the States.

But even the largest Chinese alien smugglers are dwarfed by Gloria Casales, a 49-year-old Costa Rican now in a Woodburn jail. American officials estimate that Casales is worth more than \$40 million, and was smuggling 10,000 people a year to North America before she was arrested last year.

Her case illustrates the most perilous risk taken by clients of human traffickers: death. According to American investigators, 30 of Casales' clients have died en route to the United States, including three Indians who drowned in the Gulf of Fonseca between Honduras and El Salvador last summer. In 1993, eight Chinese migrants died off Long Island trying to swim ashore from a rusted freighter carrying 200 clients of alien smugglers.

Other smugglers tell horrifying accounts of smugglers raping them in safe houses, or of being confined to a gang as the 79 Chinese smuggled to the United States through Canada last year now work as prostitutes in New York City, according to one of the group's Canadian bosses. Such stories are common. Declares Richard Borka, a longtime Toronto immigration lawyer and critic of colleagues who represent irregular migrants: "Ever since Moses parted the Red Sea, moving people has been rough, tough and dirty business." Even Rajan and Thavorn might well agree with that.

PHOTO: JEFFREY KAMUNYAKA in Toronto and BUCHHEIM, MONTREAL in Nairobi



Rajan of the RCMP, the charge for being smuggled from Sri Lanka to Canada can be as high as \$22,000

Next year, thousands of Canadians will have to take medication for heart disease and stroke. But not if we can help it.



The Healthwatch Blood Pressure Machine. We've all known someone who has suffered

from heart disease or stroke. In fact, it's the number-one killer of Canadians, exacting a death toll of more than 76,000 people every year. But although cardiovascular disease is commonplace in our society, it needn't be an inevitable part of life. That's why we've introduced the Healthwatch Blood Pressure Machine into our pharmacies. In many instances, heart disease and stroke can be prevented if the right steps are taken. For example, you should try to maintain a healthy lifestyle by adhering to a low-fat diet. You should also exercise regularly and have your cholesterol levels checked if you are at risk. And finally, make sure you monitor your

blood pressure on a regular basis with the Healthwatch Blood Pressure Machine — an easy-to-use device that can be found in every Shoppers Drug Mart Healthwatch Pharmacy. Using the Healthwatch Blood Pressure Machine, you can determine whether or not your blood pressure is consistently normal or above normal. Plus, you can keep track of your readings with the Healthwatch Waller Card that's also available. The Healthwatch Blood Pressure Machine is provided free of charge. Try it next time you're in a Healthwatch Pharmacy. In fact, if you make it part of your routine every time you visit Shoppers Drug Mart, you'll be taking preventative measures to avoid this widespread disease. And ultimately, that is the best medicine of all.

HEALTHWATCH
SHOPPERS DRUG MART
EVERYBODY YOU WANT IN A HEALTHWATCH

Their eyes are full of the bewildered wariness common to strangers in a strange land. The eerie landscape of post-industrial Buffalo, N.Y., in lightyears removed from the tropical home that the young Tamil mother and her two children abandoned on Sri Lanka's east coast. Bludding with her 8-year-old daughter and infant son in a squabbling motel room, she explains that relatives paid a Sri Lankan alien smuggler \$40,000 to get her and the children to the Canadian border. The dealer supplied them with travel documents—probably counterfeit—for a journey that took them from the capital city of Colombo to Singapore and then New York City, with a connecting flight to Buffalo. Now they await a refugee hearing in Canada, claiming persecution at the hands of street thugs among Sri Lanka's Sinhalese majority. The family's aim is to establish a country with a blood-soaked past and start anew in a nation with an average income 26 times higher than that in their home land. Forty other Tamils who have paid over a smuggler are staying in the hotel with the same burning desire.

Their route is a well-worn one. According to members of Canada's Tamil community and several officials and investigators, more than 100,000 people have arrived in Canada from Sri Lanka since 1983. The vast majority are Tamils who came as refugees, or were sponsored by immediate family members who first arrived as refugees and then gained landed immigrant status. Over the past several years, Canada's acceptance rate of refugee claims from Sri Lanka has hovered near 90 per cent. In the United States, the figure has been as low as 15 per cent at recent peaks. But even though the odds are good for the current crop of applicants waiting in Buffalo, a new life in Canada may not necessarily place them out of harm's way. The

COVER



FEDERATION OF ASSOCIATIONS OF CANADIAN TAMILS (FACAT)
 ஸ்டீவ் திமிதர் சங்கநகரின் சம்மேல்

Tamil demonstrations in Toronto, frustration with the courts

A Divided Community

Violent gangs and politics threaten Canada's Tamils

community they will join is wracked by internal divisions caused by the politics of Sri Lanka's civil war, and plagued by Tamil groups that prey on their own people.

Canada's largest city is the one where the destruction of choice for the Tamil refugees. In 1993, according to government and emigration sources, the Toronto area had fewer than 5,000 Tamils. Today, more than 20,000 live there. What is controversial is how this within the Sri Lankan community and immigration on this. It is common knowledge that most Tamil refugees paid \$100,000 to \$150,000 to get up to \$20,000 to arrive in order to make their refugee applications.

But are they real refugees? That question has haunted other ethnic communities in Canada—and new players in the Tamil. Nishu Ganes, spokesman for a community umbrella organization called the Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils, defends those who help the smugglers in business. He says they are desperate people who are fleeing a repressive regime and a homicide and war only contract alien smugglers as a last resort. Indeed, that is the story put forward by the vast majority of refugee applicants from Sri Lanka. But officials say that, by and large, it is not the real refugees who are coming to Canada. A senior official at Sri Lanka's high commission in Canada insists that only 30 per cent of the claimants are genuine refugees—that is, individuals with a well-founded fear of persecution (at the hands of the main Tamil guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, he adds, and not government security forces). "It is the richest people in the north [of Sri Lanka] who have made these bogus refugee claims," says the official. "They're seeking a better economic life, greener pastures. They understand as to how these people are getting through on refugee claims with these fictitious."

Tiger supporters in the Tamil community dismiss these con-



Jayaraj speaking at a hearing

ments as an attempt by the Sri Lankan government to deny what they call widespread human rights abuses. But there are indications that many Tamil refugees in Canada may not, in fact, have a fear of persecution. According to records from the consular section of the Sri Lankan high commission, more than 8,000 Sri Lankans with refugee claims pending in Canada applied for travel documents only to visit Sri Lanka in 1992. The following year,

the figure was 3,600. If those refugee claimants feared persecution in their homeland, why were they so eager to return? The answer, says Latha Tharmalingam, a Tamil who came to Canada in 1984 as an independent-class immigrant and is now a citizen, is to take vacations and visit family. "The real refugees are still there in Sri Lanka—and they have no money, not a penny," he says. "The refugees who are coming here are economic migrants."

But life in Canada is far from ideal for some Tamils. Like other waves of new immigrants, they are plagued by the gangs that prey on their own community. The Tamil underworld is carved up among three real factions, all of which engage in extortion, heroin trafficking and arms dealing. A test on almost any weekday in the downtown Toronto area of provincial courthouse in the Toronto suburb of Scarborough, where most Tamils live, reveals a parade of young Tamil gang members up on charges related to those models, not to mention assault and obstruction of justice. According to detectives Paul Clark and Tony Makolin, the Metropolitan Toronto police department's experts on organized crime in the Tamil community, almost all of the group members entered Canada as economic migrants. And many, they say, are trained fighters, veterans of jungle boot camps run by the Tigers.

In fact, the leader of one of Toronto's three Tamil gangs was a member of the Black Tigers, an elite corps of the guerrilla army that carried out suicide missions such as the bomb blast on Jan

30 at Sri Lanka's central bank that killed 86 people. According to a report, the gang leader assassinated several Sri Lankan officials before fleeing the country and making his way to Canada in 1989. One was reportedly landed immigrant status a year later. This week, he goes on trial in Toronto for heroin trafficking. His group, which has about 40 followers, is the offshoot of a larger gang headed by a 25-year-old Tamil whose street name is A. K. Karunan (the initials stand for the AR-15 assault rifle). Karunan made his refugee claim in 1990.

According to Clark, Karunan is only a child of the Tigers because they carried out a murderous campaign in Sri Lanka against a former guerrilla group, the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam. Some of Karunan's family members were apparently among the victims. His gang of 100 criminals is currently serving with yet another group called the VVT, which police say has about 300 members. The same is an acronym of 'V' for violence, a city on Sri Lanka's north coast that is the home town of the top leadership of the Tigers, as well as most VVT members. The mystic, police say, is instrumental in raising funds in Canada for the Tigers.

Violence between the gangs occasionally spills onto Toronto's streets. Last year, bad news from Karunan's group attacked the breakfast joint Black Tiger and two cohorts with axes and machetes at a busy intersection. Police later arrested suspects at an apartment in a public housing project. "A whole parade of people just kept coming into the place," recalled Const. Wayne Walker. "We'd ask where they lived and each one said, 'Well.' There were 12 of them—not a stick of furniture—and they had all come in as refugees."

Many members of the Tamil community are alarmed by the beatings and extortions by the gangs. They say that Canadian courts are ineffective and too lenient towards the criminals. The same faction of the Tamil community is deeply opposed to the Tigers, claiming that agents of the rebel force based in Toronto are infiltrating its new-born branches from their bases in Canada and to silence independent voices. On April 3, David Jayaratne, a member of the Tamil community who moved to Toronto in 1989 and founded a Tamil-language newspaper called *Athavan* (the

word for 'truth'), suspended publication because of plummeting revenues. In his final issue, Jayaratne published a detailed chronology of a long campaign against his business by Tiger activists, including violence against shopkeepers who sold the paper. *Athavan* had run several stories about recent military setbacks suffered by the Tigers in Sri Lanka—news the Tigers were trying to suppress in Toronto's Tamil community. "When people read that the Tigers weren't winning, a heart they found more here," says Jayaratne. "They didn't like that."

Police and other sources claim that Tiger leaders send as much as \$1 million a month from Canada to the rebel army. And according to the Sri Lankan high commission, several Tiger boss groups that receive public subsidies funded money to the guerrillas. But a spokesman for the Tamil Relief Society of Canada, which has received about \$1.2 million in government grants since 1990 for such things as language training and construction of community centers, says the charges are "unsubstantiated propaganda." He added that the group has never raised funds for causes in Sri Lanka and that its books are open to the public. That the presence of Tiger operatives and gangs in the community has frightened and threatened some Tamils. "If the authorities don't clean up this situation, 700,000 Sri Lankans in three years," Tharmalingam blurted out in a moment of anger. "They bring people like drug dealers there. It's a good place to live."

PWEL KATHIA

'Straight out of Kafka'

BY BARRY CAHILL

As usual, Brian Mulroney was dressed for the occasion, impeccably suited in sober, even prime ministerial, blue. He arrived promptly on time for his rendezvous with history, managing to converse in broad smiles as he laughed and joked his way through an unruly mob of media pressed into a narrow corridor on the 10th floor of Montreal's Palais de Justice. But the good cheer soon vanished once the unprecedented proceedings began before an overflow crowd inside a cramped, windowless courtroom high above the city. "I am going to fight for my honor and my reputation, and the only way I can do that is (right) here in this court," he vowed. And for two days last week, that is precisely what he did, leaping at every possible opportunity to mount an emotional defense against allegations of bribery and corruption in the 1980 Airbus sale. "When you are accused of something like this, in the middle of the night, by people unknown to you, it recalls to me," Mulroney declared. "The government has accused me, convicted me, sentenced me. This is not supposed to take place in Canada."

The former prime minister's unbridled tirade as he appeared at several hearings in the 350-window hall seldom has been matched by any other politician's performance against the federal government. On several occasions, it was an epochal event, belied by the sparse and single setting where it transpired. Never before in Canadian history has a past prime minister testified under oath in a judicial proceeding against his own country's government, much less in a legal case mounted to refute allegations that he had participated in a fraud against the government he once headed. It also marked the first time that Mulroney has spoken publicly about his role in the murky affair that began last September, when the federal justice department and RCMP investigators led his name to more than 35 million in purported kickbacks from the \$1.6-billion sale in 1988 of 34 Airbus A320 passenger jets to Air Canada. The allegations were contained in a confidential letter the justice department sent to Swiss authorities last Sept. 29, seeking access to numbered bank accounts in Zurich through which the RCMP suspected the kickbacks had been funneled to Mulroney and two alleged co-conspirators—former Newfoundland premier and Ottawa lobbyist Frank Moores and German-Canadian businessman Karlheinz



Mulroney during the proceedings for his own advantage.

Mulroney lashes out at the federal government's allegations

Schreiber. Like Mulroney, both Moores and Schreiber have fled lawsuits against the federal government.

In court last week, Mulroney, with a dramatic flourish reminiscent of his years as public orator, laid out the no-nonsense 11-page letter. He told the spectators that he only true intention in coming forward was in the very first line, when it stated: "I am going to fight for my honor and my reputation." Every other simple reference to me in this document is false," he explained, waving the letter about. Lifting some of the drama, Mulroney continued: "There are 29 affirmations of fact here. Every single one of them—false." He said he had no quarrel with the RCMP investigating possible corruption in connection with the Airbus purchase, but he strenuously objected to involvement in the letter to "criminalize" him on his part. "This is not an allegation," he declared. "This is an indictment. This is a statement that

the government of Canada has found me guilty of a crime. This is a verdict pronounced without the accused being present on the part of the government of Canada."

For the first time, Mulroney's testimony shed some light on the trials of events that led to his discovery of the letter's explosive contents and his subsequent decision to launch his lawsuit. In answer to questions posed by the government's chief counsel, Montreal lawyer Claude Amund Sheppard, the former prime minister and he first learned about the RCMP investigation as the result of a telephone call last Nov. 2 from Schreiber, who was in Switzerland at the time. "He told me he had received a document and he said, 'There are things in here that involve you,'" Mulroney testified. As Schreiber translated the German-language document over the telephone, Mulroney recalled: "With each passing adjective my horror and disbelief grew. I was thunder-

When you are accused of something like this, by unknown people, it reeks of fascism

struck. I said, 'What in God's name are you talking about?' This was something straight out of Kafka." The following day, Schreiber's lawyers filed Mulroney an English translation of the German text. "That's when I first heard of the letter or what had been indicated upon me," Mulroney testified.

He said he immediately retained legal advisers, who attempted to contact federal authorities with a view to cooperating with the investigation—in return for the withdrawal of the damaging letter before it became public. "The door was slammed right in my face," Mulroney asserted. He denied a suggestion from government lawyer Sheppard that he sue his own lawyer, but he did decline an offer from the RCMP on Nov. 15 to remove his name from the investigation in return for agreement to open up his bank accounts to a police review. He was not aware of any such offer, Mulroney maintained, and, in any case, even if it had been forthcoming, it was by then far too late to act because it was already apparent that the whole money affair was about to break into public view as the result of a swelling "crosswind of leaks to the press."

Mulroney told the court that he had received a fax from the

Germans magazine *Der Spiegel* on Nov. 15, posing questions about reports of an RCMP investigation. The following day, another fax arrived from Mulroney, asking for comment about accusations of kickbacks channeled into numbered Swiss accounts. "Mulroney even had an actual number and code name of the account in question," Mulroney recalled. "How do you think *Der Spiegel* and Mulroney got that information from the Swiss authorities?" the former prime minister demanded of Sheppard. "They were given it. It was given to them by your clients." Under examination, Mulroney again brushed previously published suggestions that his own office had provided the information that alerted *Der Spiegel* that to involve the first story of the Airbus affair on Nov. 16. According to Mulroney, the newspaper could have received the information from any number of sources since by then "half of Switzerland" was in possession of the supposedly confidential letter.

Throughout his two days of testimony last week, Mulroney repeatedly referred to the "totally devastating" effect upon himself and his family from the RCMP's handling of the Airbus investigation. "I have four children, a mother who is 85 years old and my 16-year-old son," he said. "So how to explain to them what happened was very painful." He authoritatively recalled being forced to take his 16-year-old son Nicolas aside. "You'll see in the papers that the government thinks your father is a criminal," Mulroney testified that he told his son. "You might be harassed."

Much of Mulroney's time on the stand was spent outlining the nature of his relationship with the two other individuals whose names have been linked to the Airbus affair. The former prime minister described Schreiber as a businessman he first met casually in Alberta and later as the chief architect of an unsuccessful scheme to sell military vehicles to the Canadian government. Mulroney's relationship with Moores began when the former Newfoundland premier married Mulroney's first wife—and later became the leadership of the Progressive Conservative party in 1975. "I saw him less and less frequently as the years passed," Mulroney told the hearing, asserting that descriptions of an "intimate friendship" between the two were "highly inaccurate." In fact, he said, he has not seen Moores for several years.

During his testimony, spread over a day-and-a-half in two separate sessions, Mulroney never lost his composure. And he deftly turned the proceedings, known in legal jargon as an examination for discovery, to his own advantage. His court appearance was supposed to be an opportunity for the government's lawyers to slowly grind Mulroney's testimony to a halt, searching for ammunition to use when the actual trial commenced later this spring or early in the summer. It became instead a platform for Mulroney to present his own case in the best possible light, thanks in large part to the former prime minister's skill in exploiting questions to deliver a speech.

Mulroney's first counsel, reportedly challenged the tactics employed by the RCMP's investigators in the case, Sgt. Fraser Egan said. While the Moose was in the courtroom building highly as he intended to the testimony, Mulroney repeatedly infuriated that Eganwald had been misled by a person—or persons—unknown. "Somebody has been trying to set me up," Mulroney maintained, arguing that was the main reason why he initially offered Eganwald his full cooperation. "I would have given him anything he wanted," said the former prime minister. "So that Sgt. Eganwald would really say to himself, 'This is a setup and I, Fraser Eganwald, am not going to fall for it.' As it transpired, however, the RCMP's investigators and Mulroney's team of lawyers never did get together. Exactly why is one of the nagging questions that continues to cloud the entire Airbus affair. Last week's hearings offered a tantalizing glimpse of what may have transpired. But the answers will not come until Eganwald sues Mulroney's \$50-million lawsuit claims costs. □

Heated accusations in the Somalia affair



Charest: standing firm is the face of interesting demands for his resignation

The week began with retribution—and ended with an attack on the integrity of the commission of inquiry into the Somalia scandal. On April 13, commission counsel Barbara McIsaac delivered a broadcast at the Department of National Defence (DND) and an attack of co-operation with the inquiry in the matter of missing documents. "Time after time, we have received late responses and we have received inadequate responses," McIsaac declared. With that, the commission adjourned, giving DND three days to deliver the requested materials. By week's end, when the commission reconvened, McIsaac—battered by 13 boxes of new material delivered to the commission—was in a more combative mood. While still concerned about missing documents, she said that she was "satisfied that we are in a position to proceed." But by then, the inquiry had to confront a new controversy: a complaint by Brig-Gen. Ernest Bess that Justice Gilles Leclerc, head of the commission, was glibly off-base.

The motion by Bess, who in 1962 was head of the special service force that included the Somalia-bound Canadian Air-

borne, arose to have Leclerc removed as head of the inquiry. Filed on April 4, it rests on the contention that on Feb. 6, during conversations in CFB Calgary with high-ranking officers, Leclercman questioned Bess's truthfulness—thereby shaming him. Bess's lawyer, Bruce Carr Harris, told the commission last week that Leclercman should not have been making "derogatory statements about one witness" outside of the hearings. But commission counsel Susan Noel, in his response, suggested that Leclercman had only expressed views that he had already made public during Bess's first appearance before the inquiry in late January. And, argued Noel, unlike a trial judge, Leclercman has the responsibility to be assertive and engaged. "The role of the commissioner is to investigate," Noel said. "He must search for the truth."

The question of Leclercman's impartiality will likely be settled sometime this week. Leclercman himself will rule on the motion, along with his co-commissioners, Peter Desbarats, dean of University of

Western Ontario's journalism school and Justice Robert Butherford of the Ontario Court of Justice. After that, the commission will continue to hear from a series of military and civilian witnesses on the allegations and non-disclosure of documents relating to the Somalia scandal.

One of those upcoming witnesses, Col. Geoffrey Bawell, has already been charged by military police with seven counts related to the fabrication of documents. Bawell, for his part, maintains that Chief of the Defence Staff Gen. Jean Boile, his predecessor Gen. John de Chastelain and former deputy minister of defence Robert Fowler knew of and approved a plan designed to thwart media access-to-information requests by releasing a class of documents and then having them destroyed within 72 hours. Last week, *The Globe and Mail* reported that Roberto Gonzalez, director general of the military's public affairs branch between 1993-1994, told military police last fall that Boile, who at the time was assistant deputy defence minister in charge of policy and communications, approved the plan. But Gonzalez insists that the act was not to mislead the media, but rather to ensure that only relevant, up-to-date information was distributed.

Still, questions continued to swirl around Boile's involvement in the alleged Somalia cover-up. And last week in Ottawa, opposition parties also took aim at Boile's defender Defence Minister David Collver. Faced with the Reform party's continuing demands for the defence minister's resignation, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien reinforced his strong support for Collver, a longtime political ally. Collver, in turn, continued to show confidence in his long-suffering chief at the defence staff. But the attacks continued. Backers Leader Preston Manning suggested that Collver could be sheltering a cover-up through his continuing support for Boile, and demanded that the general step aside until cleared of wrongdoing by the courts. "The defence minister's hand-picked chief of defence staff is up to his eyeballs in the Somalia affair," declared Manning in the House of Commons.

Added to the chorus was Bloc Québécois leader Michel Gauthier, who asked the defence minister to explain why people in his department "were in the habit of destroying and hiding documents." That prompted a clearly exasperated Collver to accuse the Bloc of jangling. Reform in a common front intended to undermine the inquiry and destroy morale in the armed forces. "The Bloc Québécois has joined the anarchists," berated the defence minister.

But in addition to the stream of opposition members, the Liberal government must also contend with a rising concern

IT ALSO COMES IN BLACK

It remembers names and phone numbers.

It sends E-Mail, and faxes from your laptop.

It reminds you of important messages. It calls

your voicemail, emergency 911 and 2 other

numbers of your choice at the touch of a key.

It fits in your shirt pocket. It lets you talk for

2 1/2 hours without recharging. It shows you how

to use its features. It keeps you connected

with family, friends and business associates.

What is it?

The award-winning Nokia 232 cellular telephone

from Finland. See one today at a cellular dealer

near you. It's the first cellular phone that gives

you true freedom of expression. Available in

designer colours. And black.

NOKIA
CONNECTING PEOPLE

Nokia offers a complete line of sophisticated, easy-to-use cellular telephones.

From entry level to leading-edge digital.

Call your nearest Nokia at 1-800-367-7368 or fax us at 1-800-706-0800.

CANADA

over the Somalia scandal within its own ranks. Some government MPs fear that with the commission unlikely to report before the middle of next year, the fallout could continue into the next federal election. Self one Liberal MP: "This thing has a life of its own." Of greatest concern now is Boyle's outstanding status. Colleagues have stated that the chief of the defence staff, who will likely testify before the inquiry in early May, must have his say in front of the commission. But Liberal MP Mary Clancy, for one, says that Boyle has become a liability for the government. "I think his credibility is a big, big problem," she told *Maclean's*.

In fact, many defence experts believe that Boyle's days are clearly numbered—and they are already speculating about possible replacements. If he were to resign, some are calling for a retired general or admiral—once a reserve officer—to be promoted to his place, one whose leading qualification would be that he is completely unconnected to the Somalia affair. Retired colonel Michel Drapeau, an outspoken critic of the military's handling of the Somalia affair, says grants retired naval admiral Charles (Chuck)

Thomas, who resigned in 1994 after a dispute over budget cuts with de Chastelain, then chief of the defence staff. When contacted, the 59-year-old Thomas told *Maclean's* that the Somalia scandal was "an outrage," but added that someone from within the military's current ranks is required to restore morale. He also cautioned



Some MPs are afraid that the Somalia fallout will continue

Lawmakers accused of showing bias

against putting too great a responsibility on the shoulders of a reserve officer. "Reservists don't have the experience to function in that tough Ottawa environment," warned Thomas.

Others, like Brian Macdonald, an analyst at Toronto-based Strategica, a military consulting firm, are looking 50-year-old Lt.

Gen. Richard Dwyer as a possible replacement for Boyle. Dwyer is a highly respected former member of the Royal 22nd Regiment (the Van Doos) who has been stationed in Europe for the last eight years and is currently the commander of the NATO defence college in Rome. Although he is three years past retirement age, Dwyer "is untainted by Somalia and has high personal integrity in the armed forces and within NATO," Macdonald notes.

Also mentioned as possible choices are Maj-Gen. Bryan Stephenson, currently commander of land forces central area, and Vice-Admiral Lynn Mason, now the commander of maritime command. But one mark against both Stephenson and Mason is the fact that they have both attended high-level meetings dealing with the Somalia affair and can be connected, however tenuously, to the defence department's handling of the scandal. For the Canadian military, Somalia is quickly becoming the thing against which all else is measured. Given that, it will also be a factor if, as the case of Boyle, speculation over his possible successor gives way to the necessity for hard choices.

LINE FISHER is Ottawa



THE OUTSTANDING CEO OF THE YEAR

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

Nominations are now open for corporate Canada's most prestigious award for individual excellence, The Outstanding CEO of the Year.

Selected by an advisory board of eminent business leaders, The Outstanding CEO of the Year for 1995 will be announced on June 26 and profiled in a special issue of *The Financial Post Magazine* this fall.

HOW TO NOMINATE

To submit a nomination please send your name, address and phone number along with the nomination and company of the nominee. Self-nominations are encouraged.

Deadline: May 15, 1995

Mail entries to:
The Outstanding CEO of the Year

64 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1B4

For more information, please call 1-800-263-7971 or visit our website at <http://www.comcast-cdn.ca/ceo/year.htm>

Meet some colourful characters.



Along with other award-winning experiences, 100 years of colourful villages give the history of our nation a taste.

Where in the world can you find houses of yellow and blue, lime, aqua, and green that cling to the shore at the edge of the sea. As proud to show their true colours as the people who greet you at every turn. Come see a street we call Jellybean Row. Imagine that.

To get more local colour, get our free 200-page Travel Guide to the far east of the western world. Call Shannon at

1 800 563 NFLD

or visit www.gov.nl.ca Internet: <http://www.gov.nl.ca>



NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR

LEADERSHIP • VISION • PERFORMANCE • INNOVATION • SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY • GROW ALL THE TIME



1995
Melvin W. Bell
Bell Canada



1995
Guy D. Fortin
SNC-Lavalin Group Inc.



1995
J. Edward Smith
SBCA Corporation



1995
Helen M. Brown
Foster Wheeler & Partners



1995
Gordon Macdonald
Manitoba Hydro



1995
W. Stewart Macdonald
McCain Foods Limited

MAIL+POSTE
Canada's Business Voice

The Financial Post
Canada's Business Voice

THE CALDWELL PARTNERS
A CALDWELL COMPANY

CTV

One distinct mess for federalists

I was a short-lived friend that feder-
d Liberals prior to look upon as a
with less joy in a distant attempt
to appease Canadians outside Que-
bec, and presumably convinced they
were on to something big, the Quebec
wing of the Liberal Party of Canada
used its April 13 to 14 annual conven-
tion to ditch the loaded phrase "dis-
tinct society" instead, Quebec Liberals
proclaimed that their province should
be recognized as the "first principal"
of French language, culture and jus-
tice in North America. That term can
mean "principal home," "main core,"
or—as wryly noted in the Quebec me-
dia—"the place." By any definition,
Montreal Liberal MP Clifford Lincoln
says he knew from long experience as
a former Liberal member of the nation-
al assembly that the phrase would off-
end Quebec separatists and federalists
alike. Indeed it did, as Lincoln
learned while reading a Canadian
newspaper during a flight home last
Tuesday after a three-week honey-
moon in Africa. "I thought, 'Oh my
god, this really puts the cat among
the pigeons,'" he told Macdon's "Dis-
tinctly," the phrase does not represent
what Quebecers want."



Boastback a bedeviling constitutional impasse

A Quebec Liberal motion becomes Ottawa's headache

Judging from the latest last week,
that such was obvious. In a rare dis-
play of candour, provincial Liberals
suspected Premier Lucien Bouchard's
separate Parti Québécois government in a
cautious rejection of the national unity
proposal. Thawed in Ottawa by Bloc
Québécois leader Michel Gauthier for
"the national plan of metropolitan man-
agement" by a federal government in
the past 30 years, "make intergovern-
mental Affairs Minister Stéphane Duro
told reporters that he knew nothing about
the resolution, prepared by many others,
delegates from his own riding of Saint-Lau-

rent/Charlevoix, until the day before the
vote, when he read about it in *Le Devoir*.
And while he voted in favor of the resolu-
tion's 35 clauses—which also included a
sopid, but-surely-enough-of-Que-
bec's-disadvantages—then on Wednesday
declared "this *Après principal*" dead. In fact,
the proposal had spun into Ottawa's joke of
the week. "If Quebec is the fireplace of
Canada," went one version, "does that
mean British Columbia is the Jacuzzi?"

The convention gaffe was cause of
an embarrassment to federal Liberals
then a laughing matter: it added evi-
dence to the perception among critics
that the federal Liberal party in Que-
bec is now an obviously using appar-
atus, increasingly out of step with fed-
erations. Only a handful of its 25
seats are outside of Montreal. Even
the Liberal's own depiction of the 430
convention delegates as a group that
spanned the province was misleading:
delegates from only eight of the 75
Quebec ridings attended, mostly from
the Ottawa and Montreal areas.

In Ottawa, meanwhile, Liberals who
participated in the conference scram-
bled to distance themselves from the
resolution, but the botched initiative
underscored a more pressing prob-
lem—the inability of Prime Minister
Jean Chrétien or Duro to find a way
around the impasse that has bedeviled
previous constitutional negotiations.
Chrétien told Quebec federal Liberals
last week that a lack of provincial sup-
port for distinct society recognition
made changes to the Constitution im-
possible. Nonetheless, that same ob-
servation in British Columbia, where
Premier Glen Clark has rejected any
attempts to recognize Quebec as a
distinct society, and in Alberta, where
Premier Ralph Klein has backed
away from earlier support of Chré-
tien's governing coalition pledge last October
to recognize Quebec's distinctiveness.
Now, in advance of the First Ministers
conference in June, Duro has discovered
that the national unity bill has once again be-
come a hard sell. And with the volume of a
well-meaning but clumsy attempt to offer
something new, his government appeared
to be losing, rather than gaining, ground.

K. KAYE FULFORD in Ottawa

Distinctly on the record

"We must recognize that Quebec's language, its culture
and institutions make it a distinct society."

—Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, Oct. 25, 1995

"Perhaps the words 'distinct society' have been tossed. If this
is simply a problem with words, then let's change the words."

—Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Stéphane Duro, March 2, 1996

"The federal Liberal party in Quebec is in favor of recognizing
that Quebec is the principal home of French language,
culture and political tradition in America."

—Resolution adopted by the Quebec wing of the
federal Liberal party, April 14, 1996

"If it is acceptable to everybody, I will certainly adopt it."

—Chrétien, April 15, 1996

"That's something—a title held by or about something
absolutely nothing."

—Quebec deputy premier Bernard Landry, April 15, 1996

"It's a bit brief—like saying Newfoundland is an island."

The point is recognizing Quebec as a distinct society in Canada."

—Quebec Liberal leader Derek Johnson, April 15, 1996

"We've passed her beyond that issue."

—Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard, April 30, 1996

INSIDE EVERY
PERSON WHO NEEDS
A MINIVAN IS SOMEONE
WHO SWORE THEY'D
NEVER BUY ONE.



Illustration by: © Richard D. Smith



Okay, so you've got the kids, the house and
the dog. But don't think for one minute that
the free spirit inside of you is going to let you
buy one of these charge-ups with the heavy
sliding door and the chunky third seat.

No way. Not when there's Odyssey.

With four sedan-style doors that swing
open, power windows and a unique fold-
away third seat, Odyssey has all the sophis-
ticated attributes of a fine automobile. Plus,
Odyssey's fully independent double wishbone
suspension allows it to handle mean like a
sports sedan. Add in Odyssey's abundant
comfort and stylish good looks and it's de-
finitely the minivan for people who deep down
inside aren't "minivan people."

Odyssey



The
Honda
of
Minivans

HONDA

BUILT WITHOUT COMPROMISE.



**ROGERS
VIDEO**

VISIT ANY
ROGERS
VIDEO
LOCATION



Rent any movie
or game, and
we'll give you a
free pack of
Freudent gum!

While supplies last.

See you soon!



Freudent: Tastes Great.
Won't Stick.

Freudent

ROGERS VIDEO

Anthony Wilson-Smith



Backstage Ottawa

Betting on Bouchard

Because of the obvious differences between them, it is easy to forget how much Jean Chrétien and Lucien Bouchard have in common. Both are from rural Quebec, they are close in age (Chrétien is 52, Bouchard 57) and imbued with the sensitive conservative values of those roots. They attended law school at Quebec City's Laval University within five years of each other. Neither had much early exposure to anglophones or other ethnic groups and both learned English relatively late—Chrétien in his 30s, Bouchard in his 40s. Both, nonetheless, became effective speakers in it.

Which makes it all the more remarkable that, until Bouchard requested and received a private meeting with Chrétien last December, the two men had never met outside the House of Commons. Paradoxically, in this case, his bred less contempt and more civility. After they met, Bouchard called Chrétien "a good Quebecer." Chrétien telephoned Bouchard to congratulate him on winning a seat in the national assembly, and Bouchard returned the compliment by expressing his appreciation for Chrétien's acerbic wit. Shortly after Chrétien's scuffle with a protester earlier this year, Bouchard, virtually alone among public figures, sympathized with him.

All of that matters because, more than anyone else, the two men hold the future of Canada in their hands. And increasingly, some federalists in Montreal and Ottawa—including some advisors to Chrétien—think Bouchard might be amenable to a constitutional deal. "We do not presume that, but we cannot exclude it" is how one of them puts it. Chrétien, who has largely foregone his dismissive pro-federalism talk about "separatism" in favor of a more low-key tone, recently looked quizzically at an acquaintance and asked whether he thought it "possible" that Mr. Bouchard wants a deal? Yes, would be the answer of some others, former Quebec premier Robert Bourassa. He has told several people privately that he thinks that Bouchard would rather be remembered as the leader who gave Quebec a balanced budget than the

one who took the province out of Canada.

Since becoming premier, Bouchard has undergone a startling metamorphosis. The same politician who railed incessantly about the ritual "humiliation" of Quebecers by the rest of Canada now plans a conciliatory trip across the country. He has courted Quebec anglophones and the business community to a degree unprecedented for a Parti Québécois politician. In the legislature, he recently launched, unopposed, into an anecdote about how he telephoned Canadian ambassador in Washington, Raymond Charbon, with suggestions on how to broker the contentious dispute over railroad border involving the United States, Quebec and British Columbia. The result, Bouchard said happily, was good for both provinces. Try to imagine Jacques Parizeau making any such step, or boast.

Is Bouchard a federalist sheep chafed in separatist wolf's clothing? Hardly. But the closeness of the Quebec referendum vote cut both ways. Bouchard, at one point in the campaign, compared a Yes vote to giving a strike roadside to a union in order to negotiate a better deal. But a strike roadside and a willingness to actually go on strike are not the same. Forty per cent of Quebec voters are unsatisfiable federalists. 50 per cent swing either way, and of the 40 per cent who call themselves sovereigntists, a significant number tell pollsters they would stay in Canada if they could get a better deal.

Now, Bouchard has given the rest of Canada up to three years to get its constitutional act together. He won't hold a referendum until after a provincial election, and he is in no hurry to call one. Yet there was nothing to stop him from calling an election more hastily after assuming office. The country could then have faced another referendum this fall, with the momentum on the separatist side. Instead, Chrétien has time to try to achieve a new consensus. He will satisfy Quebecers. That, Bouchard says, won't happen. But that begs the obvious question: what will Bouchard do if he's wrong? Federalists aren't the only ones to worry about the answer.

4 fillings, 1 partial... 5 dentists.



Everyone has their own reasons for going to the dentist. But hey, there's absolutely no reason for depriving yourself of a great tasting gum like Freudent. That's because it won't stick to most dental work. And it's available in regular, sugarfree and new chlorophyll. Bite into one.

Freudent: Tastes Great. Won't Stick.

Freudent and "Won't stick to most dental work" are registered trademarks of Wm. Wm. & Co. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3S 0S8.



Researchers on Rue
Duquesne. This late
afternoon.

CANADA SEARCHED FROM

Searching for the grave of Champlain

On March 20, an April 19th will that shows the cobblestone streets of Quebec City's historical district. René Lévesque stands impatiently on the curb of Rue Duquesne waiting for yet another lumbering tourist bus to pass. When the narrow street near the Château Frontenac clears, the "Yvesville" Lévesque—who says he is a personal friend, but is not a relative, of the late Quebec premier of the same name—steps gingerly onto the road and plants his feet on the asphalt a few feet away. "Champlain is buried right here," he says emphatically. It isn't the first time the former Catholic priest and self-taught archaeologist has made such a declaration. In fact, in the 40 years he has spent searching for the remains of Samuel de Champlain, Lévesque has come up with no less than 14 different theories about where the celebrated "father of New France" lies buried. Undaunted by critics or his methods and speculation about his motives, he is now seeking a municipal exhumation permit to test his latest hypothesis. "This time," Lévesque says as he retreats to the curb to wait as an incoming car, "his skull will be positive."

Whether he is right or not, Lévesque's efforts are helping to sustain interest in a mystery that has become part of Quebec City lore. Public fascination over the location of the 17th-century explorer's grave began in the 1860s, when a crypt from the

One man's quest for 'the father of New France'

New France era was uncovered during work to lay the city's first water lines. Since then, countless speculations by a number of Champlain bidders have led to two official and several clandestine digs. In recent years, the search has narrowed to the vicinity of the Quebec Basilica, a city landmark bordered by the Rue Duquesne that is believed to be built on the site of Quebec's first church. Historians now agree that Champlain was laid to rest under a chapel there after his death on Christmas Day, 1635. Unfortunately, the church, the chapel and most records relating to the exact location of Champlain's grave perished in a fire in 1649. Knowledge of the site faded over the next 300 years, a period during which the church grounds were used as a parish cemetery.

In 1997, a provincially appointed team of researchers combed through old city maps and property deeds searching for clues to

the Champlain mystery. They concluded that his grave may have been uncovered in 1943 by workers who, according to newspaper reports of the day, found a vault containing the remains of some of the earliest inhabitants of Quebec City while building a wall between the Basilica and the expanding Rue Duquesne. The group's theory was bolstered, however, during a 1980 excavation to clear the site for a new chapel. "We found the 1643 wall and 35 skeletons, but there was no crypt," says Quebec City archaeologist Bill Moss, who led the dig. For Michel Gosselin, a retired historian who was part of the 1977 research team, continued efforts to find Champlain's grave "are a complete waste of time."

Not surprisingly, the sub-species but last talking Lévesque disagrees. With the same enthusiasm he displayed in the 1960s as a young priest looking for Champlain among the old ruins under the Basilica—when the boom of his sidewalk hammer drew complaints because it disturbed condominium upstairs—he now argues that the absence of a crypt at the 1980 site simply means it is located further along the 1643 wall. "We've got to open the Rue Duquesne and take a good look," says Lévesque, who left the priesthood in 1969 and worked as a provincial civil servant until his retirement in 1985. But according to Moss, it would cost up to \$100,000 to satisfy Lévesque's curiosity. "The bottom line is that the search for Champlain's grave is far from being an archeological project," says Moss. "It's become more a story of one man's passion."

Many archeologists do indeed question both the value of searching Champlain's remains and the motives behind Lévesque's relentless—some say obsessive—quest. "Champlain's writings tell us much more about his life in New France than his bones ever could," says Robert M. Masson, a professor of archaeology at Laval University. "The continued search for his grave is really a kind of hero worship, and archeology is not about the veneration of relics."

Lévesque simply shrugs and smiles. "My goal is to keep people talking about the greatest explorer of the 17th century, a man who crossed the Atlantic 20 times, walked and paddled through much of Canada and the United States, founded Quebec and stood as Plymouth Rock 32 years later," he says. "My reward is the honor."

Member of the ultra-nationalist Front National Society who favors Quebec independence "in the event Canada pushes us away," Lévesque nonetheless considers Champlain to be the definitive Canadian role model. "The founder of New France, Champlain is the cornerstone of the French presence in North America," he says. "And that, in my opinion, is Canada's last remaining part against American culture."

MARK CARLWELL



TINKERING WITH THE GST

Liberal governments in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland were expected to sign a memorandum of understanding with Ottawa this week that will lead to a broadening of provincial sales taxes with the federal Goods and Services Tax. Meanwhile, Toronto Liberal MP John Manzi is angered by the fact of his caucus colleagues by voting against the federal budget because it failed to spell out how the government planned to keep its 1993 election promise to replace the GST.

ANIMAL ATTACKS

A pack of five timber wolves on a private wildlife reserve in central Ontario killed three Wyndham, Ont. who had been hired to care for them just four days before. Wildlife experts said it was the first documented killing of a human by wolves in North America. A day later, near Cambridge, Ont., a couple driving through an access gate with their windows open were seriously injured by Bengal tigers.

MASS MURDER INQUIRY

B.C. Attorney General Iqbal Dosanjh ordered an inquiry into the shooting deaths of Rayner Galsbol and eight members of her family in Vernon, on Good Friday. They were slain by Galsbol's estranged husband, Gary (Mark) Chahal, who then committed suicide. The inquiry will also examine why Chahal was issued a permit for two handguns after threatening Galsbol.

AN UNWELCOME VISITOR

Faculty and students at the University of Regina landed and joined a visiting Chinese politician, Qiao Guohua, who was there to receive an honorary degree. The protesters said that it was wrong to honor Qiao, the second-ranked Communist Party leader in China, because of his government's poor record on human rights.

HANDOUTS FOR HARRIS

Ontario Premier Mike Harris came under attack after it was disclosed that the Conservative party had been paying many of his personal expenses—including a golf club membership—over the past 15 years. Because donors to political parties receive no credits, critics claimed that the premier was billing taxpayers even as he shored government spending. But Harris said the payments had "nothing to do with taxpayers' money."



TORRENTS OF SPRING:

Rising floodwaters from a spring meltdown threatened homes, businesses and farmers' fields in southern Saskatchewan and Manitoba. In the village of MacGregor, Sask., 100 km west of Winnipeg, local officials declared a state of emergency as about a dozen residents were forced to evacuate their homes. In Regina, authorities held back the swelling waters of Wascana Creek, which runs through the city, by erecting some 40,000 sandbags. Water levels were dropping in Regina, but further flooding was expected as other ice-covered tributaries break up in the coming days.

The Big Muddy jammed
grains near Gravel,
Sask. flooded out

Busting a suspected drug ring

In the early hours of April 17, more than 200 officers swooped down on suspected drug smugglers in Montreal and Toronto. Within the next nine hours, police arrested 20 people, including such high-profile suspects as Frank Costello, 46, a reputed Montreal-organized crime boss, Daniel Serero, 51, the alleged leader of a Montreal underworld group known as the West End gang, and Wallace Lee, 30, a vice-president of the brokerage firm CIBC World Financial Services Inc. Simultaneous raids took place in several European cities. Police in Montreal said the international drug bust resulted from nearly three years of undercover work in which they set up a phony import-export company to win the

confidence of the accused, and infiltrated Montreal gangs by pretending to be Toronto businessmen. Police said the suspects planned to export between 1,000 and 10,000 kg of cocaine a month from South America into Canada through Montreal and Toronto. Montreal police Lt. J. Kevin McGarr said a key figure in the smuggling ring was Serero, whose high-ranking brother had put his claim to be a simple farmer. McGarr said that Serero declared an annual income of only \$7,000 in 1994, but was often seen at the wheel of a Mercedes, Jaguar or Rolls-Royce. Serero lived in the large penthouse of a Westmount apartment block on the same Montreal street corner as the RCMP headquarters.

The RCMP and the B.C. Hydro scandal

The RCMP in British Columbia launched a criminal investigation into an investment scheme under which a number of NDP leaders and relatives of officials at Crown-owned B.C. Hydro privately bought shares in a Pakistan power project. The scandal broke in late February just as newly elected NDP Leader Lee Clark was to be sworn in as premier. Clark fired Hydro chairman John Laxton and president John Sheehy, whose relatives bought shares in the power project. The NDP may now enter the next provincial election, expected within weeks, under the cloud of two criminal investigations. The RCMP are still looking into the "Bhangar" scandal, concerning charity funds funneled into provincial NDP offices in the 1980s.

A bloodbath at a UN base sparks outrage over Israel's offensive



A child's victim in Nabatieh cradled for a moment in a UN base



Bombsof wrath

It began as a raid on a specific target with a limited goal: securing Israel's northern border from Hizbullah's Katyusha rocket attacks, and doing it quickly—in time to influence the May 29 Israeli election in favor of Prime Minister Shimon Peres and his sibling peace process. At first, it seemed to be working. The headquarters seized in the militant Shia Muslim group in south Lebanon and Beirut was pleading Israeli public opinion, receiving comfortable support in the White House and providing few expressions of shock from international commentators. Then children began to die. An ambulance was hit, killing two women and four girls. A separate helicopter attack claimed a two-year-old in a Beirut suburb. On Day 8 of the bombing campaign, warplanes fired missiles at an apartment building in the southern town of Nabatieh, where seven children, including a four-day-old baby, were among 11 members of one family killed.

The worst was yet to come. That same day, Israeli shells slammed into a UN base in Qana, near the port city of Tyre, that was housing Lebanese refugees fleeing from the Israeli military action closer to the border. More than 100 refugees died, and a similar number, including four Syrian soldiers, were wounded. "It's a massacre," said Yehonatan Givon, spokesman for the 4,500 UN peacekeepers in Lebanon. Reporters said the Israelis kept fir-



Arafat and Peres cradling a child with grief

ing for nearly half an hour after being told they had mistakenly hit a UN post. Apparently they were aiming for allies 300 to 400m away, from which Hizbullah had just been launching Katyushas. "May God send a plague on you, Israel," yelled a woman in Tyre's Najim Hospital, one of three cities in the town struggling to deal with the carnage. "Oh, what a crime," said a Red Cross worker as last stage buses arrived carrying the corpses of small children. A shaken Peres blamed the deaths on Hizbullah itself for hiding among civilians and for using the United Nations as a shield. But he agreed Israel would stop firing on civilian targets. Hizbullah would do so, too, Israel apologized for the "error" of shelling the base.

The attack marked the death toll in Lebanon to more than 120 by world's end and marked a tragic turning point in an operation that as a matter of hours went from unpleasant to intolerable on the diplomatic Richter scale. Demands for an immediate ceasefire came from all over the world, including Canada. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien raised particular concern that such bombings could threaten the future of international peacekeeping. Up to 6,000 civilians had been sheltering at UN bases in Lebanon, which are known in the area as a place of refuge. The events in the Middle East overshadow the agenda of a G-7 summit on nuclear safety in Moscow, where the world's key leaders

backed the ceasefire call. Russia, France and Italy each sent their foreign ministers to the region, and U.S. President Bill Clinton dispatched Secretary of State Warren Christopher to negotiate a ceasefire. The initiative provided the support of Lebanon and Syria, which diplomats hoped would use their influence over the Iran-backed Hizbullah. But counterweight shelling continued after the Qana slaughter—despite Clinton's calls for it to stop. Israeli ground troops and tanks up to the Lebanese border, sparking new fears over the long-term fate of the peace process.

Even before the UN base was hit, many asked Israel had begun to question both the ethics and the effectiveness of Operation Grapes of Wrath—a phrase derived from biblical references to the wrathfulness of God that grew from the seeds of a distressing situation. The Movement party, a junior partner in Peres's Labor coalition, had registered its reservations in cabinet. "You can't attack Lebanese civilians to protect Israeli civilians," explained Meretz MP Nissim Chazano. "What we should try to achieve is to protect all civilians, Israeli and Lebanese." Harsh questions were also being asked about the use of low-accuracy, low-altitude rockets rather than the precision-guided missiles deployed in the early days of the fighting. The Israeli human rights group B'Tselem appealed to Peres to stop shelling villages and the civilian infrastructure in Lebanon. "It is a violation of human rights to make 600,000 people leave their homes," said director Yehonatan Ben-Meron Ben-Zvi, a columnist in the respected daily Haaretz, warned that the government's actions would create a backlash that in the long run would push local Shi-

ites into the arms of Hizbullah and spawn "a new cycle of violent rage."

That view was supported by the initial negative coverage from Lebanon. Khadija Baidar, a 13-year-old refugee from the southern town of Nabatieh, collapsed in exhaustion at a hospital in Beirut, where she had fled with her husband and three surviving children just eight months after her other three children were killed by Israeli bombs. "We are ordinary people and we had ordinary lives—my sister was Hizbullah," she told Al-Masna'ah. "But Israel is determined to turn us into fanatic Israeli-Hisbans. Every day they bomb us and kill someone. We will decline help now on them as they have ruined terror on us." In the southern city of Sidon, Choukri Dib, also of Nabatieh, said the attempt to crush Hizbullah had backfired. Life and most of his neighbors were lost. Hizbullah but had been convinced by last week's bombings that civilians—not armed Islamic militants—were Israel's target.

The Hizbullah leadership tapped into that anger, vowing to continue its fight and providing 70 minutes of music before television cameras. The Party of God was formed in 1982, set up by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, a key leader of Islam's minority Shia stream. Hizbullah's professed aim was to establish an Islamic republic in Lebanon and ultimately destroy Israel. Its immediate goal was to push out the Israeli troops that remained in south Lebanon since their 1982 invasion of the country forced the PLO's Liberation Organization to leave. Many



young, disillusioned PLO supporters joined Hizbullah attracted by its wide-ranging political and social programs. "Hizbullah supports its people to the hilt," says Nader Badri, who used to launch Katyusha rockets for the group. "When a house is destroyed by the Israelis, Hizbullah walks in and helps rebuild it. When a woman is widowed as a result of an Israeli attack, she is given monthly financial support."

Hizbullah was stepped in to replace the often non-existent government in south Lebanon, where some 80 per cent of the population are poor Shias. With funding from Iran, the movement has been able to provide schools and hospitals as well as orphanages, soup kitchens and even computer centres. Its members were among the first on the streets of Beirut and other towns offering medical aid to the wounded when the Israeli invasion began on April 21. But it is Syria, which unofficially controls Lebanon with 35,000 troops in the country, that has promoted both Hizbullah's links with Tehran and its armed resistance to the Israeli presence in the south. Syria and Lebanon have continually called for Israel's unilateral withdrawal from south Lebanon, as well as from its Golan Heights on Israel's border with Syria. During the first week of fighting, Damascus urged Israel, leading some to speculate it was holding the Hizbullah card for its bilateral peace negotiations with Israel that have been stalled since PLO secretary Yassir Arafat's resignation as commander in 1993 ceasefire on the Lebanese border.

WORLD

and has mediated recent talks with Syria, welcomed Syrian Foreign Minister Fawzi al-Shara and Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri to try to get them on track.

Joseph Apher, a former director of Tel Aviv University's strategic studies center, says the defining element of the Israeli operation was to pressure the Lebanese government—not only by flooding Beirut with refugees but

winning agreement to end the war, followed by a permanent peace agreement with Lebanon. Without any military action, the other side would have no interest in reaching agreements." Specifically, Israel sought a halt to rocket attacks and a commitment that Hezbollah would not fire on troops in Israel's self-proclaimed security zone—with assurances by Lebanon and Syria. In exchange, Peres said he would order the army to stop firing on populated areas and set a timetable for permanent withdrawal from southern Lebanon since a stable peace had been achieved.

Now, with world opinion having shifted, Peres has more interest than ever in gaining a major breakthrough. The day the UN base was hit, he met with Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat, and the two pledged to move ahead as planned with talks on the final phases of a Palestinian withdrawal. Arafat announced the PLO will finally amend its charter to remove a call for the destruction of Israel. But similar progress on the Syrian and Lebanese fronts was by no means assured, and Israeli ministers privately admitted the Qaza bloodshed had weakened their hand. Even Israel's most enthusiastic partner in peace, Rafiq Hariri of Jordan, called for an immediate halt to Israel's "barbaric aggression" and "criminal military operations." Other Arab leaders echoed his comments.

An international challenge went into overdrive. It appeared Peres had backed himself into a corner and that only Syria—with U.S. prodding—could get him out again. Few predicted that Israel would renounce its 1982 ground invasion of Lebanon, having decided the lesson that it is harder to get troops out of Lebanon than in. But there were many echoes of that unpopular war. "Israel is once again bogged down in the Lebanese mud and once again it is trying to get out by the skin of its teeth," wrote columnist Herb Spector in the daily *NY Mirror*. Peres's normally dovish government badly needed to be displaced to head off what it was to be saved from swallowing the grapes of wrath in the May 30 elections.

NOVI MOKRINSKI with **MURRAY STAMEN** on Beirut and **ERIC SELZER** in Jerusalem

CARNAGE IN CAIRO

The elderly Greek tourists, most of them devout Orthodox Christians, were on a tour of religious sites in the Middle East. They had spent Easter in Israel before moving on to Egypt. Their itinerary on April 18 began with a 7 a.m. departure from the Hotel Europa in Cairo, near Khayma, home the famed pyramids at Giza. As the 85-member group left their eight-story hotel to board the waiting tour buses, a tragedy unfolded. Three men in their mid-20s, armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles, burst from a Volkswagen van screaming "God is great" and opened fire. Three minutes later, 18 people—including London, Ont., resident Nick Petros, who was traveling with a Greek passport—lay dead and 17 others were wounded. "They worked us all down," said one survivor, Ioanna Maniaki. "They were firing I fell down I lost my teeth I lost my glasses. It was chaos."

The attack was by far the worst incident in a four-year campaign of terror conducted by Islamic extremists who are attempting to overthrow the government of Hosni Mubarak. Since 1992, political violence in Egypt has claimed the lives of 900 people, including 25 foreigners. Muslim militants have taken to killing and wounding travelers in order to gain a foothold in the tourism industry and undermine Mubarak's secular regime, which is backed by the military and the country's tough security forces. But Egypt's banned Muslim Brotherhood, a large and influential Islamic group at odds with Mubarak, passed the chaos condemning the latest violence.

Gam'at al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group), Egypt's largest Muslim militant group, claimed responsibility for the attack. The group, which had carried out previous terrorist acts and had warned in February that it planned to step up operations, and it had delayed giving its statement by a day last week to allow its holy fighters to escape safely to their bases—"thanks to God." The guerrillas, saying they were avenging Israel's raids on Lebanon, said they had planned to kill tourists, who are known to stay at the Europa Hotel in the past, the group has fired at taxi buses and boats, detonated bombs, usually killing one or two people, and wounding many others. But none of those attacks compared with the horrendous slaughter outside the hotel. "This was a vile crime," said Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa. "The victims are martyrs of terrorism."

DARCY JENKIN with **SARNA JENKINS** in Cairo



Carrying a victim from the Europa Hotel in Cairo.



WORLD INDIA

'It's Tweedledum against Tweedledee'

The scope of the election is vast: 620 million voters choosing among 8,000 candidates for 543 parliamentary seats. It should be colorful as well. Traditionally, elections in India have featured stark rallies and the charismatic personalities of India's regional political clan: founding prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, his daughter Indira Gandhi, her son Rajiv Gandhi. But this time around, there are no Gandhis. Sanskrit at rallies is low and the campaign in the world's largest democracy more laidback. "It is possibly going to be India's strangest election so far," says Delhi-based political commentator Kunal Varma. "The political parties are going into it without any major issues and the elections are cynical and disenfranchised."

Part of the reason, paradoxically, may be that for once, things are going pretty well for India. When Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao took over in 1991, Rajiv Gandhi had just been assassinated by a Sri Lankan Tamil suicide bomber, the battle with Sikh rebels—which had claimed 10,000 lives in 1984—was still raging in Punjab, tensions between Hindus and Muslims were at a high pitch, and the economy was in deep trouble. Today, as the population closes in on one billion, ethnic tensions have eased in most areas—with the unhappy exception of Kashmir, the Muslim-dominated region claimed by Pakistan—and the economy is booming. Rao's economic reforms, which opened the formerly hyper-protected country to a flood of imports and foreign investment, have caused a so-

cial transformation in the cities. The easy availability of Western consumer goods and satellite TV has created an Indian " MTV generation," set off a whirlwind of entrepreneurial activity, and made once-banned Coca-Cola, as well as Pepsi and Kentucky Fried Chicken, household names.

But even so that is worth credit to Rao in the election, in which staggered voting runs from April 27 to May 7. Polls show neither Rao's long-dominant Congress party nor its main challenger, the right-wing Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), gaining anything near a majority. The Third Front, an awkward combination of left-wing parties and liberal alums, says even further behind. Says senior prime minister V.P. Singh, the Third Front leader, in a widely shared view: "We are entering a period of unstable coalition governments."

On the surface, the deck seems stacked against Congress. Although Rao, 70, has lasted his full five-year term in office, his deeply demoralized party has lost a series of key state elections to regional and national parties, including the BJP. In this campaign, he has avoided trouncing his economic reforms for fear opposition parties would label his "anti-poor" agenda the

Most supporters of the opposition BJP, whose leaders have names

rural masses, who have put to bed. Rao is also the Bob Dole of Indian politics—seen as docile, brooding and uninspiring in a government beset by crisis. Several of his ministers have had to quit because of alleged involvement in such scandals as dowry, or money-laundering, scandal. Rao, too, has been accused of receiving 100 million from businessmen in the 1985 auction scam. But the damage to Congress has been amplified because lefty opposition leaders have also been indicted, including BJP president Lal Krishna Advani, who pulled out of the elections as a result. Says Calcutta columnist Radhakrishna Mohapatra: "The entire political establishment has been stepped on."

The BJP's new leader has brought some Northern liberalism to the campaign. A former opposition politician, 71-year-old bachelor Atal Behari Vajpayee is known for his poetry, his powerful oratory and his reported affliction for drink (curbed by the state of his bed). But he is also seen as less steady than Rao, and there is now little risk to dislodge the BJP. In fact, the BJP's defense in its hawkish Hindu politics—it has made clear, for instance, that a BJP government would use India's atomic capability to build nuclear bombs to counter Pakistan. But the specter of Hindu-Muslim tensions that helped propel the BJP in its last-term election at the last election is lacking this time. Even on the key issue of foreign investment, the open-souls of BJP has moderated its critical stance, although members still say KFC and MTV as "cultural imperialism."

Late last week, Vajpayee promised that if the BJP would be "the first to open liberal India."

All of which leaves voters like Delhi social worker or Senan Singh, 31, to deliver a crucial swing. "There is little to choose between one party and another," she says. "This is a contest between Tweedledum and Tweedledee." Given the weakness of his rivals, Rao hopes that the very longevity of his government will give him the edge with voters. "The last Congress period," recent years, "has provided a stable government in very good" concludes a Third Front leader. If Rao laps to the finish line first, many analysts believe his skills as a coalition dealmaker will bring him back. Polls show he is still the most acceptable face to govern a nation that, increasingly, is finding its feet.

BERTON WOODWARD with **SANDRA WOODWARD** in Delhi

Voters see little choice in the election

Rao: His Ekh Dots of Indian politics



Hungry for change in America's Cuba policy

Activists—and some academics—urge a shift



Hunger strikers Clifford, Kinsaid, Walker and Roby: weakened by a diet of water, juice and apples

On one debate among Americans over the tough U.S. treatment of Cuba has been raised by long political battle, official intransigence of Fidel Castro's Marxist Cuban regime. Since 1962, commerce and discourse with Cuba has been rigidly restricted under the U.S. Trading With the Enemy Act and recent reinforcing laws. But more than in the past, American academics and business leaders are quietly questioning that policy. And last week, church-based activists with allies in Canada took a leader challenge—and a protest over the seizure of dual computers collected for Cuban hospitals—to the steps of the U.S. Treasury, where custom officials impounded the shipment. "The Bible tells us to love the neighbor of all who suffer," said Lucius Walker, leader of the demonstrating Pastors for Peace group, "not just people who happen to be of our own political persuasion."

Walker, a 65-year-old Brooklyn, N.Y., Baptist pastor and one of two group's supporters, including Shepherd Brown, a leader of Vancouver, attended the demonstration in Washington. The rally at the massive stone Treasury building on April 19 coincided with their 50th day on a protest hunger

strike. They have been weakened by a diet of water, juice and apples. So have fellow fasters Jara Valdes of Pittsburgh and Jim Clifford of Lawrenceville, Ky. (Valdes was one of the demonstrators briefly arrested for blocking a Treasury doorway). But even before initial police placards and chants, an official response offered little hope to the protesters or to other Americans disturbed by their government's Cuba policy.

The law is the law, said Treasury spokesman Darrell McKinney. "The rules preclude any shipment of aid of any kind directly to the Cuban government and/or an entity controlled by the Cuban government," he said. "The Pastors, as I understand it, are seeking to send computers to Cuban medical clinics which, on its face, is illegal." He added: "The fact that they have refused to comply for a specific length of time does not justify our becoming more lenient toward them, but it does justify our becoming more firm."

The demonstrators affirmed that desperation. Their placards urged daily "End the Blockade of Cuba." And rally leader Ellen Bernstein, Walker's address-

trative aide, explained why the group refused to apply for an export license. First, five earlier aid shipments—including 17 computer terminals, a satellite TV dish and a school bus—got through to Cuba in Canada or Mexico, if only after resistance from U.S. customs officials. More important, Bernstein said, complying with Treasury license regulations would "significantly increase the cost of the computers."

The policy prompted customs officers to seize a total of more than 200 aid computer terminals in two attempts to take them across the California-Mexico border south of San Diego, first on Jan. 14, and, after Pastors for Peace collected more terminals, on Feb. 27. The equipment was requested by a Cuban church group, says Walker, to expand a hospital network based on a mainframe computer supplied by the United Nations. The equipment was requested by a Cuban church group, says Walker, to expand a hospital network based on a mainframe computer supplied by the United Nations. The equipment was requested by a Cuban church group, says Walker, to expand a hospital network based on a mainframe computer supplied by the United Nations.

"The first seizure was real brutal," according to Bernstein. "They had five real big officials on top of people, ripping heads of medical aid out of their hands, pulling hair." The second export attempt was more orderly. But three weeks later, Treasury officers seized a San Diego storage facility and impounded more material collected by Pastors for Peace across the United States and Canada—computer gear awaiting repairs, crates and medicine, according to members of the Pastors group.

The impounded equipment includes gifts from Canadian church groups and others—one terminal, says Roby, "from my father's basement in Bethesda." Roby said he took 38 boxes of computers labelled for Cuba across the U.S. border at Blaine, Wash., on Jan. 12. He paid a \$100 bond in U.S. currency as a report guarantee, a fee he is owed at the Mexico border. "It's pretty outrageous that after we paid the bond they seized the computers anyway," said Roby, a sometime student and printer's apprentice, who says the last time he returned to the U.S. was in 1978. "People all across Canada are aware of what's happening and they are asking Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy to make a statement."

At the Treasury, spokesman McKinney acknowledged that the Canadian shipment "may have been impounded and thus the confusion with respect to that." Treasury officials "are working through this matter and we will have more to say on this later." But, referring to news releases issued by Pastors for Peace that offer the impounded equipment for Canadian export, McKinney added: "We Walker issues daily, daily, and sometimes more than once daily, press statements, news releases and material, but there's just no motivation for the treasury department to engage in a daily

theoretical Ping-Pong match with the Pastors, and we shall not."

Walker agrees that the Pastors group is trying to attract attention to its cause. "To that end, the Pastors showed their protest early in April in Washington from a spot near U.S. customs buildings on the Mexican border at San Ysidro, Calif. They are now camped behind the U.S. Capitol on a lot of United Methodist Church, kind of quarters, where they have provided indoor office space. Group members, lobbying on the Capitol, have lived up support from about 40 members of Congress. Walker says that he adds that it is hard to overstate what he describes as "the black and white we think is a very important project."

He and his staff are accustomed to overcoming trouble. Inspired by Martin Luther King's nonviolent approach to social and civil protest in the 1960s, Walker founded his Horizon-based Interfaith Peace Foundation for Community Organization (IFPCO) to help inner-city people achieve "social, economic and racial justice." Associated groups sprang up in other U.S. cities and Walker later took his movement abroad. It was in Nicaragua in August, 1986, that he decided to establish Pastors for Peace, drawing on churches to assist people he believed were suffering as a result of his government's policies. He reacted that decision after being wounded in an attack by U.S.-backed contra revolutionaries fighting the Marxist Sandinista government. The contra forces fired on a ferryboat, killing two Nicaraguans and wounding 27 others. The bullet that hit Walker narrowly missed his spine. "I realized as I lay on that boat that my tax dollars were paying for that bullet," he recalls. "So I decided we had to do something."

Four months later, Pastors for Peace sent its first aid shipment to Nicaragua. Since then, collecting donations in training centers, the Horizon-based group has led aid of other Central American, Mexican and, since 1982, Cubans. From the outset, the Cuba project has collided with U.S. policy. U.S. customs officers at the Mexican border at Laredo, Tex., balked at the first two shipments. The first—calk, medicines, bibles and bicycles—got through only after TV footage showed officials prying blades out of the hands of a priest, and administrators at Bernstein. The second, a school bus, was allowed to pass after a 10-day protest led by 14 people on the vehicle drew publicity. It was absurd, said Bernstein. "Why is the most powerful nation in the world so afraid of a little yellow school bus?"

Similar questions are raised in the current Foreign Affairs, the scholarly U.S. journal published by the House Ways and Means committee's chief executives and their associates—manufacturers, bankers, retailers, holders—are sending Cuba, reports Paula Peltz, a former staff director of the House of Representatives subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, a now a congressional advisor on Cuba. The executives, she

writes, "graze openly at what they are believing to be the U.S. embargo."

Walter Smith, twice a U.S. envoy to Havana—before and after Castro's Revolution—wrote in the same journal that "U.S. policy towards Cuba will soon be to be in a Cold War like way." It is his long, Smith argues, to start releasing the U.S. trade embargo. "Current policy does not serve U.S. interests or further its objectives in Cuba," he adds, and it denies Americans any share of the Cuban market. From his wheelchair, Pastor Walker used stronger language last week. "The embargo represents the greatest and the most despicable aspect of our life as a nation," he said in an interview. "It is a policy of death and starvation against innocent children and women because grown men refuse to talk to grown men. It is a policy intended to destroy a nation that has never declared war on us and we have never declared war on them."

Smith, in his essay, sees little prospect of a policy change in the near future. Walker sees his own case as a hope that the American people will begin to demand change. "Our country has distinguished itself in social policy and foreign policy when the people have taken an interest," he said. First, however, the American people will have to shake free of habit, one deeply ingrained by politics for more than 50 years. □

THE WAR AMPS PEOPLE JUST WANT TO HELP



CHILD AMPUTEES WOULD JUST LIKE TO SAY, THANKS!

Because you help...

- ✓ Champs receive financial assistance for the many artificial limbs they will outgrow in a lifetime;
- ✓ Champs get to meet others like themselves;
- ✓ Champs learn to cope with amputation;
- ✓ Champs receive specially designed recreational limbs and devices.

BECAUSE YOU HELP, PROGRAMS LIKE CHAMP ARE POSSIBLE.

For more information about CHAMP and other War Amps programs, contact:



The War Amps
National Headquarters
10071 Newburg Avenue
Oakland, California 94611
Tel: (415) 731-5611 (toll-free) or (415) 731-5600
Fax: 1-800-558-6871, Fax: 1-415-731-5600

Charitable Registration Number: 000001-30

After a considerable amount of research, we can safely conclude that people will only purchase an Infiniti after, well, a considerable amount of research.



The Infiniti QX

The first thing you might discover about the Infiniti QX is that it was just voted Best New Luxury Car by AJAC. Looking not further you could find the QX's standard amenities match vehicles costing thousands more. And having test-driven any other luxury



car, you would come to two conclusions. The QX's rear Multi-Link beam suspension and micro-polished, 40-aluminum, 130 hp V6 engine provide exactly the performance you are looking for. And that there are indeed rewards for doing one's homework. To begin your research, see your Infiniti dealer or call

1-800-368-4762 for a free QX brochure.



World NOTES

JAPAN'S MILITARY ROLE

Waiting Tokyo, U.S. President Bill Clinton reiterated America's commitment to its current military presence in Asia but agreed on an expanded role for Japan. Under it just described as "enhanced," Japanese forces—limited to self-defense by their postwar constitution—will provide logistical support to U.S. troops in peacetime. Tokyo will also study taking on a more active, though limited, role in war.

BOMB BLAST IN LONDON

The Irish Republican Army set off a small bomb in an exclusive London district known as The Beltons. No one was injured. "It seems to have been an exercise for no apparent purpose other than to remind people that they still have the capacity to mount terrorist activities," said Prime Minister John Major, referring to the IRA.

BUCHANAN'S OPTIONS

Defeated Republican presidential candidate Pat Buchanan said he was not actively seeking on a third-party challenge to Democratic Bill Clinton and Republican Bob Dole. But he did not rule it out, and asked his supporters to vote among options ranging from endorsing Dole to running.

A KILLER EXECUTED

A British prisoner accused of killing two Canadians was hanged in Singapore for a third gruesome murder. John Martin, also known as John Marie Scotton, was executed for the death in Singapore of South African Gerard Lewis. He had also been accused in Thailand of killing Canadian Sherin Mee Carmichael, 36, and her son, Dane, 23, both of Victoria. The bodies of all three victims were dismembered. "I think the Carmichael family can now rest in peace," said Douglas Herds, the RCMP's liaison officer in Singapore.

THE POOR GET RICHER

The world's poorest nations are now growing faster economically than the rest of the world, according to a UN study. The trend reverses more than 15 years of decline among the 45 least-developed countries. Several once seen as hopeless cases, including Uganda, Mali, Bangladesh and Laos, have shown especially strong performances. The UN Conference on Trade and Development credited higher commodity prices, more trade and better economic management.



Johnson loyalists cheer outside barracks during hell in Liberia's fighting; appalling conditions

HOPES FOR RELIEF

Liberia's armed factions agreed to a ceasefire after two weeks of fighting that left the country in chaos. The truce, arranged by mediators from the United States, Ghana and the United Nations, led to the release of 78 foreigners trapped inside the main army barracks in Monrovia, capital of the West African nation. Armed supporters of warlord Roosevelt Johnson had holed up there, along with up to 16,000 civilians who took refuge in appalling conditions. Aid officials hoped to begin arresting the spread of disease and hunger, although two earlier ceasefires had not last.

Decisions at a nuclear summit

World leaders meeting in Moscow approved a program to combat nuclear smuggling, and Ukraine reluctantly agreed to shut down the Chernobyl nuclear plant by 2000 in exchange for \$4 billion in Western aid. Heading the summit for the G-7 industrial nations—the United States, Canada, Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Japan—Russia announced it now backed efforts to achieve a global ban on nuclear testing, bringing its policy into line with Western powers. President Boris Yeltsin also promised Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto that Russia would sign an accord this year to prevent the dumping of nuclear waste at sea.

The summit, timed for the 10th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, was seen by the Russians as bolstering their bid for membership in the elite G-7 group. Yeltsin also raised the G-8 issue in private talks with Prime Minister Jean Charest.

En route to Moscow, Chirvin stopped in Romania to open a Canadian-designed CANDU nuclear reactor, which took 18 years to build. Officials said they have agreed to finish a second CANDU on the problem-plagued site at Cernavoda, though the contract has been approved. Canadian officials remained hopeful that these other reactors abandoned in mid-construction might still be completed.

A poignant anniversary in Oklahoma City

Survivors and thousands of sympathizers in Oklahoma City bowed their heads in silence for 50 seconds on April 19 to honor the 168 people who died in a devastating terror bombing exactly a year earlier. Many went and hugged each other at the end of the ceremony, held at 3:02 a.m. at the grassy site of the demolished Alfred P. Murrah federal building. Shortly before the anniversary, the U.S. Congress passed a major bill strengthening measures against potential terrorists. Accused right-wing bomber Timothy McVeigh also appeared on TV from jail, weeping and praying. He and alleged accomplice Terry Nichols have pleaded not guilty.

BY SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER

Call it *Dynasty*, Canadian-style. Or perhaps *Dallas North*. The unfolding saga of a prominent Saskatoon family's bitter feud has all the ingredients of a prime-time soap opera—wealth, Hollywood glitz, even a hint of romance. Johanna Mitchell, a feisty 38-year-old matron who keeps tabs on the family meat-packing business from a ranch outside Saskatoon and a luxury condo in Pacific Palisades, Calif., plays a leading role. She's such a character, says daughters-in-law LuLa Mitchell, a 35-year-old former beauty queen. Fred Mitchell, 40, Johanna's eldest son and LuLa's husband, is a dedicated company man who started at the bottom, with a summer job killing hogs in the slaughter. Fred's chief rival is his 44-year-old brother, Chip—who, under the stage name Channing Mitchell, appeared in several movies, plays and a few episodes of the CBC sitcom *King of Kensington*. Their sister, Cassie Mitchell, 42, rounds out the cast. An accomplished actress, Cassie recently starred in a Vancouver production of *Sweeney*.

A single play about failed relationships, before stepping offstage into her own family's real-life drama last week.

Chip, Cassie and mother Johanna are now allied against Fred in a vicious struggle for control of Intercontinental Packers Ltd. Much is at stake: Sales of the company's food products—parquet under the Olympic and Mitchell's Gourmet Foods labels—are an estimated \$250 million a year, prompting big per-

“They ganged up on me—I can't believe my mother and brother and sister would do that.”

—Fred Mitchell, former CEO of Intercontinental Packers Ltd.



Fred Mitchell, father of Johanna and Chip, in high Chippewa (left); a family shareholder



High noon in Saskatoon

1,800 workers in Saskatoon and Vancouver, and another 120 in Maple, Wis., home of widely owned Western Canadian Beef Packers. Intercon is Canada's second-largest family-owned food company, after New Braunfels's McCanna Foods Ltd. And like that established clan—which last year settled a lengthy, costly and embarrassing court battle over succession rights—the Mitchell family is cursed with sibling rivalries and personality clashes, which threaten the future of a successful enterprise.

In March, Fred Mitchell, who resigned as president and CEO a year ago, met his mother, sister and brother for constructive dismissal, seeking control of the company and \$2.5 million in lost income. Since then, tensions have escalated. Fred complains that when he dropped by Johanna's sprawling hog-slaughter plant in Saskatoon last week “to chat with friends,” a senior executive immediately ushered him out of the building. At the same time, the local RCMP detachment says it is investigating a death threat

allegedly leveled by one family member against another. And Fred and Chip recently argued in public, as they did in the local newspaper, the *Sher-Post*: “I was pushed out,” Fred charged. “They ganged up on me—I can't believe my mother and brother and sister would do that.”

Chip Mitchell counters that his mother has always controlled Intercon, and that Fred callously tried to wrest it from her in 1994 while she was recuperating from open-heart surgery. Last week, Chip declared further comment, “I'm silenced by this,” he said. “This whole situation is very upsetting—Fred can say what he wants to say.” Not any longer, though. That same morning, Chip, his mother and his sister obtained an injunction prohibiting Fred from talking publicly about company or family matters.

The next scenes will be played out before a judge. In his suit, Fred Mitchell is asking the courts to dissolve the family trust—which places control in the hands of his mother—and turn the

business over to him. Fred claims that family members forced him to sign over his business shares to the trust in 1985 when he was 16, and kept them (a heart and double-lung transplant saved his life in 1990, after which he became a born-again Christian). The struggle intensified in November, 1994, when, according to Fred, the family out of his business, limited his managerial authority and took back his company credit card. Four months later, he resigned. Other members of the family contend that Fred and LuLa—Miss Saskatchewan, 1984—lived extravagantly by borrowing large sums of money from Intercon “without authorization.” In a court suit filed on April 12, Fred's mother, brother and sister allege that Fred and LuLa owe Intercon nearly \$1 million. The document lists several loans, including \$385,000 for a house in Palm Springs, \$17,000 in start-up costs for LuLa's *Save the Planet* Hauling Ltd., an investment holding company, and nearly \$100,000 in dental bills—probable that Fred says are topped by other Mitchell family members.

The sorry squabbling would likely have shocked Johanna's father, Fred Menzies, a widely respected businessman who died in 2005. A wealthy German Jew who owned a string of meat-packing across eastern Europe, Menzies fed the Nazis with his two daughters, Johanna and Eva, in 1938. He settled in Saskatoon, where he transformed a money-lending identity into one of Saskatchewan's

largest private-sector employers. Menzies, blessed with old-world charm, was also a generous patron of the arts. His legacy to the community includes the prestigious Menzies Art Gallery.

But the brilliant industrialist did not pass on his affinity for business to his daughter, Johanna, reportedly estranged from her son, acquired Intercon after her father's death. But her passion has always been acting. In 1941, she abandoned a promising stage career to marry Cameron Mitchell, a charming young actor who subsequently starred in *High Chaparral*, a western TV series, and appeared in more than 90 films—from *Dracula* of a Salome to *Ben-Hur* like *Mist-Caller* of *Rhodes* and *Frankenstein Island*. The couple lived, not very happily, in Hollywood, where Johanna socialized with such stars as Clark Gable and Gary Cooper. In the early 1960s, the marriage broke up and Johanna moved to Vancouver with two of her children, Chip and Cassie, while Fred headed off to the University of Arizona to study economics. In 1964, Johanna's eldest son, Bob, committed suicide after several years at Intercon. According to LuLa, sibling rivalries pulled the family apart. “There was always a lot of nagging between the kids.” In 1981, perhaps her husband acknowledged that the family's problems stretched “right back to my childhood. There were beatings of anger, beatings of blame, beatings of resentment, jealousy, pink hatred.”

Now, the Mitchell battle threatens to disrupt the company. Many workers are struggling with divided loyalties. “Everybody's hanging on Fred coming back,” says Herb Wilkerson, a 20-year employee who once met with the company. “Nobody's knocking Chip—he's a decent person. I just wish he could see what Fred did for the company. Fred had a real ability to go out and bring in new business.”

Employees also fear that the Mitchell's warring will affect the company's performance and, ultimately, the security of their jobs. In 1993, the Saskatchewan government gave Intercon a \$5-million forgivable loan to help finance a hog slaughter operation in Saskatoon. A union spokesman says privately that workers are concerned that Chip does not have the experience to oversee the company. Others fret about rumors that a major competitor, Calgary-based Bama Foods Ltd., may be looking to buy the firm. “We've got Bama licking our ass,” says Wilkerson. “We need someone to say, ‘Stop Bama.’”

Although the Mitchells may yet find an amicable solution to their differences, the outlook is not favorable. More than 90 per cent of Canadian businesses are family owned, but seven out of 10 do not survive beyond the second generation. Only one firm in 10 survives past the third generation. Most, says Michele Desjardins, executive director of the nonprofit Institute for Family Enterprise in Montreal, crumble under the pressure of sibling rivalry. Desjardins notes that after the 1989 collapse of the Sternberg supermarket empire, 800 employees lost their jobs and 5,000 suppliers lost an important client. A similar collapse of Intercon—much bigger (\$200 million a year, or about 70 per cent of production in Saskatchewan)—would have a major impact on the province. “It's a huge problem, not just for family businesses but for the whole economic system,” adds Desjardins. “It's also very sad for the family.”

But Howard Block, a Toronto-based business consultant, contends that problems such as those facing the Mitchells are inescapable in family-run enterprises. “It's not that people are bad or stupid,” he says. “Families are complicated enough. Once you get money, succession and having to evaluate each other professionally, the challenges multiply.” The emotional consequences are often horrendous. “With some families, people don't talk to each other—it even plays in the grandchildren.”

And other relatives. In March, Johanna's sister, Eva Menzies Miller, who lives in Toronto, also, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Sher-Post* expressing her hope that the feud would not soil her late father's reputation. “Please remember my father's many good works,” she wrote. She added that he always lived by the code, “a man's good name is his most valuable asset.” Sadly, for the Mitchell family that asset is in serious decline.

With JAMES HANCOCK in Saskatoon



Filling up in Toronto, Iraq oil exports could lead to lower costs

80¢, Iraq would be allowed to sell about 700,000 barrels a day to pay for humanitarian aid and medical supplies. Analysts estimated that, in Canadian terms, each \$1 drop in the price of a barrel of oil shows 0.6 cents less in the price of a litre of gasoline. And if the deal is approved, crude oil prices could drop as much as \$4 a barrel. "If indications are that the Iraq question will be settled," said Jennifer Conellan, senior economist at the Canadian Energy Research Institute in Calgary, "it will definitely knock prices down."

Another factor that could lead to lower prices is the pump in an unexpected increase. This year, it crude oil production outside the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. During the Gulf War, crude prices reached \$30 a barrel. Oil producers used that as a threat to develop new oilfields, which are only now coming on stream. New production from the North Sea alone is expected to hit 600,000 barrels a day. In total, oil production from non-OPEC countries has risen to 43.6 billion barrels a day, from 40.5 billion barrels in 1983.

Marketists, however, should probably expect more price shocks before the flood of new oil arrives. Analysts point out that gasoline reserves are now at their lowest levels since 1977, just as the summer driving season is about to push up demand. As consumption rises, pressure will increase on refineries to buy higher-priced crude on the spot market. "Refineries are probably low right now," explained Scott Inglis, a director of FirstEnergy Capital Corp. in Calgary. "A lot will depend on when Iraq comes on."

Although the temporary spike in prices has not included a boom in oil exploration in Western Canada, it has helped the industry after a period of low oil prices. David Tuck, president of Calgary-based Pan Canadian Petroleum, told a meeting of analysts in Toronto recently that he does not expect the price bubble to last. As a result, the company is planning to spend about \$875 million on exploration and development this year, compared with \$1 billion in 1995.

Despite that, the Toronto Stock Exchange's derivatives producers index has increased 5.5 per cent since January, largely because of high natural gas prices. Analysts expect that the sector will continue to outperform the market for the rest of the year. "This run is the oil stocks," says Inglis, "has been great extra gain by the rally in oil prices." Investors' profits, however, may soon be drowned in a flood of Iraqi oil.

TOM PENNELL

STRENGTH OF EXPERIENCE

Analyze products & markets & customers

Coordinate business expansion, financing

Interpret inventory control data

Experience helps a business succeed and grow. Especially the experience a CA brings to your organization.

CAs are highly educated and well trained in a wide variety of businesses, which means they do more than financial analysis. With a CA, you get strength beyond numbers.

CA

Chartered Accountants of Canada

Strength beyond numbers

BUSINESS

Why it costs more to top up the gas tank

Our Hamilton's customers enjoyed the light while it lasted.

Since February, a price war in the Maritimes has pushed the cost of regular gasoline down from an average 60 cents a litre to about 53 cents. But last week, the industry called a truce—and Hamilton, who manages the Cole Harbour Shell station on the outskirts of Halifax, jacked up his prices by 11.3 cents a litre. The increase was part of a continent-wide trend toward higher gasoline prices, a byproduct, in part, of unusually cold winter weather, which forced up the demand for heating oil. To complicate matters, refinery operators have cut back on their purchases of crude oil, believing that crude prices will drop if Iraq, which has been subject to a UN ban on oil exports since its 1990 invasion of Kuwait, is permitted to resume shipments later this year. With supplies tight in the meantime, prices had nowhere to go but up. As Hamilton puts it, "It's hard when you fill up these prices."

Oil and gasoline prices have been spiralling upward since November, when freezing winter weather descended on much of North America and Europe. By late January, the cost of a barrel of crude on the U.S. spot market spiked up from \$17 (U.S.) to almost \$30 (U.S.). Last week, it broke through \$25 (U.S.)—its highest level

The long winter pushed up oil prices

since the 1991 Gulf War. In many parts of the country, gasoline now retails for about 60 cents a litre, up about seven cents from last fall.

Politics, as well as weather, is behind the increase. During the Cold War, refineries in North America kept inventories high to ease hostilities between the superpowers led to a disruption in supply. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, big oil companies have cut their supplies and moved to a just-in-time processing system, purchasing only as much crude as required to meet demand. They now typically operate with only 1.1 days of stock-

PUMP IT UP

U.S. spot-market price per barrel of oil



lined oil in reserve, compared with an average of nine days a decade ago. Scott Inglis, an energy analyst with Credit Suisse Securities Ltd. in Toronto, "The very arctic winter and the just-in-time inventory phenomenon has created a squeeze and caused a spike in prices."

The oil industry is now nervously watching Iraq. In New York City last week, Iraq and UN officials were trying to come to terms on the country's possible return to the world market. Under proposed Article

SOURCE: CRUDE OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

Rockport

See these fine retailers for a full range of
Men's and Women's Rockport Shoes

Plants

At a Moment like this

It's about appreciating the little things in life. We believe it's that refinement which separates our Gold cardholder from the rest of the crowd.

So yes, it's not just about prestige. Our members rely on the flexibility, reliability and credit advantages of Gold MasterCard.

It's about being prepared for the unexpected. They know that our automatic theft and damage purchase protection and Collision Damage Waiver coverage is really just peace of mind, for themselves and their families.

A Gold MasterCard card offers a wide range of significant benefits and personal advantages reserved for those who know there are more important things in life than just **Status**.

Life is full of special moments... why not make yours golden?



Your card for life!

Bank of Montreal Canada Trust National Bank of Canada Participating Credit Unions

Business NOTES

VIDEOTRON UPS ITS OFFER

Quebec's largest cable company, Le Groupe Videotron, has increased its offer to buy Montreal-based CFCF Inc., the city's largest English-language broadcaster. Videotron's \$600-million offer upstages an earlier hostile bid by Cogeco Inc., a rival cable company that had gone to court to block Videotron from acquiring CFCF. "We think we have a very strong forward, up-front investment that is the best for the shareholders," said Arden Paulist, president of CFCF.

BAILEY GIVES IN

Celebrity lawyer F. Lee Bailey was ordered released from prison in Florida after serving 44 days for failing to hand over millions of dollars' worth of stock in a Montreal company, Biochem Pharma. The ruling followed Bailey's decision to surrender the shares to the U.S. government. The stock previously belonged to one of the lawyer's clients, convicted drug trafficker Chuck Dabbs.

PRIME RATE CUT

Major lenders cut their prime rates to 6.6 per cent after a similar move by the Bank of Canada. The quarter point cut affects some mortgages as well as loans for everything from cars to appliances. The variable bank out-letting rates to spur economic growth.

MACBLO ON THE HUNT

One of North America's largest forestry companies is looking for a merger or acquisition. Officials at Vancouver-based Macmillan Bloedel confirmed that the company, which last year proposed a merger with Fletcher Challenge Canada Ltd., is looking at several options, including a takeover of U.S.-based St. Joe Paper Co. The Fletcher Challenge deal collapsed when skyrocketing newspaper prices made it financially prohibitive.

BANKS LOOK SOUTH

For the second time in as many weeks, a Canadian bank has announced a major U.S. expansion. The Bank of Montreal said it will spend \$275 million to purchase Chicago-based Household Bank. Chairman Matthew Barrett noted that about 40 per cent of the bank's profits now come from U.S. operations. Earlier this month Toronto-Dominion announced a \$718-million takeover of Minneapolis Investor Services Inc., a Wall Street discount brokerage.

Sniffing out the bombs

In business, timing is everything—but a little luck never hurts. Maxine and Andy Rybak, who ran CPAD Technologies Inc., seem to have some of both. Founded in 1985, the Ottawa-based company makes what Andy Rybak, the firm's executive vice-president, says is the only bomb-sniffing device that currently meets the requirements of the Clinton administration's new anti-terrorism legislation.

The device, the Orion Plus Explosive Detection System, is a self-contained unit that can be operated by one person and can detect minute quantities of gas or particle residue within seconds. Last week, a spokesman for the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration said that CPAD's equipment is at the forefront of bomb-detective technology, and will be placed in several U.S. airports as part of security preparations for this summer's Olympic Games in Atlanta. "It was really a nice gift in a way from Mr. Clinton," Rybak says of the anti-terrorism bill, noting that the company plans to list its stock publicly in the next 12 to 18 months. He added that if this summer's U.S. pilot program goes well, the firm expects to sign contracts to supply bomb-sniffing equipment to airports and security forces around the world, "which we hope translates into financial success for the company."



Andy Rybak, at the forefront of technology

CPAD received funding from both the Canada and U.S. governments under an anti-terrorism agreement signed by the two governments in June, 1993. The company has already developed a narcotics detection system and is working on similar technology to locate land mines and toxic materials. The Orion Plus system sells for between \$70,000 and \$95,000 per unit.

WARGUERS

A tissue deal disintegrates

The world's largest tissue products maker is planning to sell its controlling interest in Toronto-based Scott Paper Ltd. under pressure from the Federal Competition Bureau, Dallas-based Kim-

berly-Clark Corp. acquired the Canadian company in December as part of a larger corporate takeover of Scott Paper's U.S. parent, Scott Paper Co. But as its share of the deal, the Competition Bureau told Kimberly-Clark that it would have to divest itself of several other product lines, including White Swan bathroom tissues and Baby Fresh baby wipes, in order

to obtain a full government approval. Instead, Kimberly-Clark chief executive officer Wayne Trimers said last week that the company would sell its shares, worth an estimated \$226 million, later this year. A merger of the two companies, Kimberly-Clark would have given Kimberly-Clark control of 45 per cent of the domestic tissue market.

Banishing the copycat drugs

U.S. pharmaceutical giant Eli Lilly has won a court challenge to prohibit competitors from selling copycat versions of Prozac. The Federal Court of Canada ruled that three other companies that produce generic versions of the popular antidepressant can no longer duplicate Prozac's green-and-buff look.

Nelson Sims, president of Scarborough, Ont.-based Eli Lilly Canada Inc., described the judgment—which can still be appealed by the generic manufacturers—as a victory



for consumers. He said it will now be easier for Prozac users to distinguish between the brand-name product and less expensive knockoffs that use the same active ingredient but, in some cases, contain different inactive fillers. An estimated 10 million people use Prozac around the world, including one million Canadians who spent about \$120 million on it each year. The drug's generic market is flourishing.



Peter C. Newman

Finding haven under Arizona's golden skies

By the time you get to Phoenix you realize why this desert city of 2.5 million is becoming the most popular American haven for Canadian entrepreneurs on the run. What they're running from, they mean, is not high taxes—no balance, the levies are not that much lower in Arizona—but from "the Canadian attitude."

"A lot of it," I was told by Peter Thomas, 57, who began making investments in the Phoenix area four years ago and moved his 800-million Sanborn Capital Corp. there from Vancouver four months ago, "is the perception that has been created by Canadian governments that you can't win. There is a decided lack of political leadership in Canada and the public service is in a whole lot of stress that it should stay out of."

Thomas, who has just signed what he describes as "the deal of the century," has persuaded the Four Seasons hotel chain to sink \$125 million into building an architecturally unique, low-rise resort on 60 acres at Pinnacle Peak, one of the area's prime sites. He has quickly become a highly visible business ambassador, and expresses few regrets at having left Canada. "Nobody I know in Phoenix has left Canada because they think it's so good," says Thomas, "but you can't make any sensible money there."

It's difficult to measure just how many Canadians now live here, but certainly their presence is felt in every branch of local business, especially real estate. They're lucky, because greater Phoenix—particularly Scottsdale, the prestigious suburb where most of them live—is wide open for business. If the anti-business attitude at home bothered them, Arizona is the very opposite.

The dollar ethic provides life's very aspect. Because the Canadians, like almost everybody else, have migrated from somewhere else, there is little existing hostility and the newcomers establish themselves very quickly. Nobody gives a damn about frictions or historical rivals.

Life is not free, but it's easy. There is little pressure in these dry, sunny corners. Life is about money. Wealth means status. You're either up, or you're out. Net worth equals self-worth. Arizona's state motto says it all: *Dei Est Sine* (God enriched).

According to local estimates, Maricopa County, which encompasses greater Phoenix, is due to see its population swell to nearly four million by 2050. The region's high-tech exports have doubled in the past four years, solidifying the area's claim as the Silicon Valley of the Southwest. Like most of the American Sun Belt, Phoenix is filling up. Every night, the 18-wheeler convoys with push vans, along Interstate 10, and the next day they race back north and east, high and empty, to land up again.

Apert from this almost growth-painful, what attracts Canada's entrepreneurs to Phoenix is the weather. Notable averages on right inches a year, which is below that of the Sahara desert.

When the locals talk about three-inch rain, they usually mean there are three inches between the falling drops. This big-sunny, fairly volcanic area boasts at least 215 sunny days a year. The best way to tell when newcomers become real Phoenixians (which is what Phoenix citizens call themselves) is when they start squinting at night. Indarny.

Phoenix is the capital of what's known as the Valley of the Sun, but it is only when the sun goes down that the place assumes its true beauty. During the long, languid evenings, when notes of jasmine, orange blossoms and yucca bushes flower the night air, the Phoenixians visit each other. They drink their heavily air-conditioned El Dorados, Sefflys, Japs and Little Boyzies with 12-ounce poles grace across the arid desert, while on the far western horizon, like giant fireflies, executive jets land at Sky Harbor International, the country's busiest private airport. The moonlight glints off the jet's silver wings, and the sky is alive with their swirling. Two million passengers move in and out of the Phoenix area every month. There are daily flights to Vancouver and Toronto, with less frequent connections to Winnipeg and Montreal.

People here aren't less elderly than elsewhere, because the place is so new. You can be older than most of Phoenix's devastated historic buildings, and still be kicking up your heels. The few remaining inhabitants will lament that the newcomers who have taken over their turf coast outside and go to the ballroom indoors, instead of the other way around, as mine intended.

Life in Phoenix combines the self-determination of America's hard-rock conservative spirit with the gotta opportunism of frontier life. Feeling secure in their big back-orientation, these paleas of extraordinary new wealth are proud and rapid in their ways, their cropped hair leaving their ears exposed, which leads them in air of breezy candor. Only a few still wear Stetsons, though bold tan black leather straps with silver clasps adorned with turquoise are still popular. Their conversation is as strong as hardsmith and gets straight to the point. Phoenixians instinctively distrust anyone who attempts to deal with issues that reach beyond life's rockableness. A radical is anyone who frequents bookstores.

From the air, Phoenix appears to be one giant golf course with green fairways. Greater Phoenix has 345 links, all of them used to capacity from sunrise to sunset, with green fees of between \$125 and \$220. Scottsdale alone boasts 375 holes per 100,000 population.

Near the end of my recent visit, Don and Susan Hazzah (Darryl's parents) invited me to a breakfast/mini-fund seminar on their impressive spread to greet the son of an Eastern morning. One of the lay preachers caught the spirit of the place, which explains why so many Canadians have moved here. "Life," he said, "is too short to drink bad wine."

FEELING COUPED UP?



Just because you're enjoying your sportscar doesn't mean you're ready for life in the slow lane. Dodge Stratus is easy, zesty, money inside, thanks to cut-forward design. And its available 2.6 litre 24-valve 160 hp engine is no slouch either. What's more, you can relax, safe in the knowledge that you're protected by steel-reinforced, side-impact beams and available anti-lock brakes. Dodge Stratus. It's the four-door that won't cramp your style.

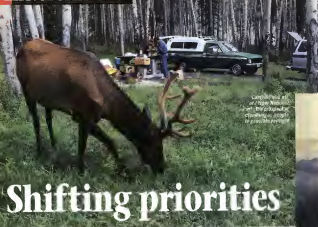


DODGE STRATUS



Official Sponsor of the Canadian Olympic Team © 1994 DODGE

CHRYSLER CANADA • 1-800-261-3700



Department of the Environment is the province's closest ally in protecting wilderness.

Shifting priorities

Born as a protest event 35 years ago, Earth Day has come to symbolize the commitment to environmental protection that today seems solidly embedded in Canadian law. Or is it? An Canadian started Earth Week (April 21 to 27) with tree-planting expeditions, marine conservation and other feel-good events, environmentalists worried that a deregulatory push by consulting governments across the country could weaken or eliminate many of the laws needed to protect the nation's natural endowment. They are particularly alarmed by measures already taken in Alberta and Ontario—the provinces pursuing deregulation with the greatest vigor. “The way things are heading in Ontario,” says Mark Waisfield, research director for the Toronto-based Canadian Institute for Environmental Law and Policy, “mining companies, forestry companies and other polluters will be able to do what they want. It’s a danger to be a disaster for the environment.”

In effect, critics say, provincial governments are moving toward a free-for-all of the business approach—creating “voluntary” systems that would allow industries to supercharge themselves. Some environmentalists think that Ottawa is also about

to retreat from the field. They cite ongoing federal-provincial talks aimed at “harmonizing” environmental regulations—a process they say could result in the feds handing over many of their environmental responsibilities to the provinces. Once the main federal standards are gone, say the critics, some provinces may grow more interested in winning industrial development than in protecting the environment. “This is what industry wants,” says Paul Muldoon, a legal counsel for the Canadian Environmental Law Association in Toronto. “The federal government would be out of the picture and they could deal with the provinces individually.”

As governments look for ways to economize, not even parks are exempt. Both Ottawa and Ontario have announced plans to turn the operation of parks in their jurisdiction over to private operators. Under the federal plan, announced in March, 30 national parks and 108 historic sites could see their campgrounds, interpretive services and road maintenance run as private cost centers by next spring. Federal officials have invited about 2,000 Parks Canada employees, who will lose their jobs, to form private companies to perform those tasks. Not surprisingly, the prospect of profit-

driven parks horrifies environmentalists. “Crisscrossing more people into campgrounds for the sake of generating revenues,” says Mike Melroe, a Swift, Alta.-based official of the Alberta Wilderness Association, “will undermine Parks Canada’s mandate to preserve ecological integrity and attract visitors a quality experience.”

At the provincial level, the deregulatory drive is motivated by a desire to shrink the cost of government and boost business development by pruning the existing jungle of red tape. In recent years, six provinces have conducted reviews of provincial regulations. In Newfoundland, Premier Brian Tobin’s Liberal administration is considering a proposed new environmental assessment act that, says Shirley Bryant, a spokesman for St. John’s-based Action Environment, could exempt some projects—including certain kinds of hazardous waste facilities—from assessment and “significantly weaken environmental protection in the province.”

In Quebec, industrial and environmental groups are debating proposals by the province’s Parti Québécois government for

environmental law reform. One of the key proposals is to rely less on day-to-day regulation and more on voluntary compliance by industry. Critics fear the worst. “Existing laws in Quebec don’t have much bite,” says François Tanguay, Quebec director for Greenpeace Canada. “If they are weakened even more, there won’t be much environmental left to protect.”

Both Alberta and Ontario have already gone beyond the talking stage, with Premier Ralph Klein’s Conservative government taking the way in Edmonton. Since a regulatory review commission reported in 1994, the province has moved to rethink the approval process for such pollution-prone activities as asphalt paving produc-

tion and letting industries meet them.”

But environmentalists hit Tom Marshall, executive director of the Pembina Institute for Appropriate Development in Drayton Valley, Alta., says that such an approach will work only if there is vigorous monitoring and enforcement—and the provincial treasury usually does not have the resources to do that. “When we ask the government to show us where the resources will be for enforcement,” says Marshall, “they just aren’t there.”

Now a process strikingly similar to Alberta’s is under way in Ontario. Since taking office last June, Premier Mike Harris’s Conservative government has abolished advisory committees that allowed for



Are cash-strapped governments abandoning the environment?

agreements—one that was rejected by then-federal Environment Minister Sheila Copps last May—would dramatically alter the way environmental assessments are carried out. Under the proposal, the provinces would take the lead in assessing projects proposed as provincial land, in many cases relegating Ottawa to a secondary role. Environmentalists worry that if the basic standards laid down by Ottawa no longer applied, some provinces would become pollution havens. That fear, says Rosalind, assistant deputy minister in Alberta Environmental Protection, is groundless. “There’s still a role for Ottawa in setting standards,” says Hicks, “but on a consensus basis with the provinces.”

Even outspoken critics of deregulation concede that some old rules need to be updated—or even dropped. But they argue that the move away from regulation could push environmental protection back nearly half a century—to a time when there was virtually none. “So let’s say Toronto’s Mark Waisfield,” the public hasn’t really clued in to what’s happening. I hope when they do, the dynamics of this debate will be different.” But there seems little evidence of that happening—yet—as Canadians tramp along nature trails and clean up neighborhoods in the warm glow of Earth Week, 1996.

public, input on environmental standards, water quality and environmental assessments, and phased out a financial assistance law that helped critics’ groups and environmental organizations challenge ecologically sensitive projects. The Harris government has also repealed a ban on solid waste incineration by municipalities and eased regulations on the cleanup of contaminated mine sites. And a powerful Red Tape Review Commission is examining all Ontario regulations with a view to eliminating measures that are deemed unnecessary—or which impede economic growth.

Then there are the trends earlier this month, the Harris government announced

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS



Sleepless nights

For his newest movie, *The Quest*, which opens this week across North America, Belgian action-film hero Jean-Claude Van Damme had three demanding, time-consuming duties. As well as starring as an orphan making his way in the world in what he calls "a classic martial arts epic," the actor took his first shot at directing Van Damme—who began studying martial arts at age 11 and is a former European karate champion—also had to keep to a rigorous workout schedule. "It's hard to be in shape when you are directing because



Van Damme: 'on the set 12 hours a day'

you are on the set 12 hours a day and you have to go see the dailies, the rushes and everything," says Van Damme. "So to keep in shape, I was getting up and training for two good hours in the middle of the night. Then it was hard to go back to sleep. It was a night mare." Still, he shows no sign of slowing down. Van Damme just finished shooting his next movie, *Blind Snow*, in locations in southern France and Toronto, for release in the fall. In it, he portrays retired soldier Alan Moreno, who gets drawn into the Russian underworld

as he searches for the whereabouts of his identical twin brother, a role he also plays. And, Van Damme says, he has no plans to cut back on his hectic schedule of action flicks: "I'm 35—I've got 30 years to think about it."

No conquest for Norman

With his victory at the Augusta National Golf Club in Georgia, Britain's Nick Faldo joined an elite list of just five other golfers who have won the coveted Masters tournament three or more times. Still, Faldo, 38, knew the 80th Masters would go down in golf history for the stunning collapse of Australian Greg Norman, 41, who went into the final round on April 14 so hot ahead, but lost anyway. "I hope to be remembered for shooting 67," said Faldo after the match, "but obviously this will be remembered for what happened to Greg." Norman,



with \$55 million in lifetime earnings, seemed to take the defeat in stride. "I am a winner in life."

Faldo (left): Norman 'remembered for what happened to Greg'

Different drummers

They ran the Boston Marathon last week and then, their sweat barely dry, performed a concert, beating drums with sticks the size of baseball bats. For Ondekoza, Japan's Denzan Drummers, daily long-distance running is part of a strict communal regimen. In their mesmerizing displays of *tsuiko* (big drum) drumming are set as traditional as

they seem. It was Paris designer Pierre Cardin who first dressed the men in lean cloths, so that audiences could see their rippling muscles. And the 11-member troupe, now touring North America with four Canadian dates, has added two female northern-drummer sisters to its ranks. One of the 13-year-old baby "I was a real hip," explains as Ondekoza spokesman



A totally new way to open up Maclean's.



Maclean's magazine is now on the air. Tune in with host Pamela Wallin for a weekly half-hour that explores the stories that matter to Canadians. With insightful interviews, expert analysis, and thought-provoking reports, Maclean's TV. It's television worth watching.

CBC Newsworld
Sunday 8:00am ET & 10:30pm PT



WTN
Monday 11:00am ET / 8:00am PT
6:30pm ET / 3:30pm PT
Tuesday 7:30pm ET / 4:30pm PT
Thursday 6:30am ET / 3:30am PT

right to you by

sponsored by

Produced by

Canon

LIBERTY
HEALTH



ROYAL BANK



World Affairs
Les Affaires Mondiales

#N
newsworld

wtn

Look over Sunday Morning Live at 10:00am ET and Ontario, Sunday One at 12:00pm ET on CBC Newsworld



*When the mind is willing
but the body is sore.*

No matter what age you are you're only as young as you feel. So when you're feeling stiff and sore, nothing keeps you moving like RUB-A-535. Available in Regular, Extra Strength Ice and No Odour



Wherever it hurts, it helps.

Life

Mightily cheesed off

A proposal to ban raw-milk cheese draws scorn

The subject was cheese, and oh, what a stink it stirred in the House of Commons last week. At issue were proposed federal regulations that would effectively ban cheeses made from unpasteurized milk—including the Canadian aka, Italian parmesan and French camembert so loved by gourmands. Bloc Québécois MP Pauline Paradé charged that the rules were not only as absurd as taste, but an attack on Quebec culture by out-of-control Health Canada bureaucrats. "Who is running the department—the bureaucrats or the minister?" she asked. To emphasize her argument that unpasteurized cheese is safe, she and other Quebec MPs invited Health Minister David Duggan to a cheese-tasting reception at the Cowan's Hall of Honor. And the next day, as the heady smell of unpasteurized cheese wafted through the halls of government, Duggan promised—in hand—that the scientific evidence for the new rules would be closely examined. "Can I get some wine?" he added.

Call it *l'affaire du fromage*. Cheeses made from unpasteurized milk represent only about one per cent of total cheese consumption in Canada, but they are valued by many consumers as stronger, stickier—and therefore better tasting—than their pasteurized counterparts. They are most popular in Quebec, where the proposed regulations met with particular dislike. "I find this law to be a total aberration," said Jacques Masson, manager of La Ferme Goudale du Basbourg, a family-owned Montreal shop that specializes in fine cheeses. "It's unacceptable to create a law that prevents people from eating what they want to eat."

But despite their master's defiance last week with raw-milk cheese, 15 daily Canada officials say the regulations address a potential safety across public health issue. According to Paul Meyers, a department microbiologist, unpasteurized cheese can carry salmonella, which causes severe gastrointestinal distress. E. coli, some strains of which can also cause intestinal disorders as well as kidney disease, and *Listeria monocytogenes*, whose effects range from blood poisoning to swelling of the brain membranes. In Canada, no deaths have been linked to unpasteurized cheese. "But we also have to recognize that food-borne illness is very rarely reported," Meyers says. And there have been lethal outbreaks in other countries. In California in 1985, a *Listeria* outbreak

linked to raw milk cheese affected 143 people, 48 died. During the 1980s in Scotland, 38 died of listeria-related symptoms after eating raw-milk soft cheese. And last year in France, a *Listeria* outbreak linked to cheese affected 20 people; 11 were pregnant and eight suffered premature births, spontaneous abortions or stillbirths.

Under current Canadian regulations, unpasteurized cheese has to be stored at 2°C for 60 days before sale. But recent research,

such as better inspection of raw milk to ensure that it is free of disease-causing bacteria. "As it stands," says executive director Richard Doyle, "it might be a little like taking a 20-ton mass to kill a fly."

Still, Doyle says that the regulations, if implemented on schedule in early June, may not have a very significant effect on the Canadian cheese industry. True, as Bloc MPs threatened last week, Quebec—the country's leading producer of raw-milk cheese—would be most affected. But even there raw-milk varieties represent only 0.4 per cent of total cheese production. The effect in the export market would be more noticeable. Canada imports more than 100 varieties of raw-milk cheese, and many would be pulled from store shelves. But most of these varieties are also available in pasteurized form, and Doyle says the overall volume of imported cheeses would likely not decline.



Masson (left), La Ferme Goudale owner Yana Meyers: "I find this law to be a total aberration"

Meyers says, suggests that disease-causing bacteria can survive—or even grow—in those conditions. The new rules, similar to ones already implemented in Australia and New Zealand, would require that all cheese be made either from pasteurized milk, or from raw milk that had been heat-treated to eliminate bacteria. Cheese made from the raw milk would also have to pass strict tests for acidity and moisture, and be stored for 60 days.

The rules are still subject to change after a 75-day period of public consultation. The National Dairy Council and the Dairy Farmers of Canada, which represents 24,000 dairy producers, have already come out in support of the proposals. But the Dairy Farmers are also pressing the government to consider alternatives—

The biggest losers, it seems, would be cheese-lovers and the small businesses that cater to them. At La Ferme Goudale in Montreal, unpasteurized cheese—about 40 per cent of the store's 200 varieties—are the main drawing card. And a ban could spell disaster for the 30-year-old business. "We'll have to lay off at least half of the employees because we'll lose between 60 and 70 per cent of our business," says manager Masson, who is originally from France, where unpasteurized cheese is common. And the health risks? Masson scoffs. "I know of no successful French outbreaks," she says, "trying to kill themselves by eating unpasteurized cheese."

JOE CHRELEY with DAN ABRAMOVSKAYA in Toronto

The Tory rout as seen by a true believer

Hugh Segal still sees a future for his party

BY BOB RAE

**NO SURRENDER:
REFLECTIONS OF A
HAPPY WARRIOR IN
THE TORY CRUSADE**
By Hugh Segal
(HarperCollins, 246 pages, \$26)

John Diefenbaker has one more thing to answer for: Hugh Segal, a Tory adviser who served under party leaders Robert Stanfield and Brian Mulroney,

starts his entertaining memoirs by telling us that the Chief was the great political influence on his life and the reason that he became a devoted member of the Progressive Conservative party. In the first chapter of *No Surrender*, Segal writes that as a 13-year-old boy listening to Diefenbaker speak at his Montreal high school in 1962, Dief's message "gripped me by the throat." That experience, more than any other, made him what he describes as "a happy warrior in the Tory crusade." That gripped a lot of people by the throat, and some elsewhere, but not always to the same effect.

This is a good book. Like its author, it is full of good humor and much-wisdom about Canada and the political process. What emerges most strongly is Segal's deep love and understanding of Canada, in particular the need to continue the search for partnership in the country. In this book, as in his, Segal has the ability to make you laugh out loud and also learn something at the same time.

That greatest of British Conservatives, Edmund Burke, described political parties as "the little platoons" to which we owe our loyalty and affection. Segal is describing the political family to which he is deeply tied, and whose flaws, therefore, he is only too happy to overlook. The portrait of Diefenbaker, for example, is remarkable for its sentimentality and its complete absence of critical perspective. This applies even where the Chief's abilities were clearly de-

structive to Stanfield, his successor as party leader. There is no doubt that Diefenbaker was a great popular, but he was also an extraordinarily sensitive man who had no understanding whatsoever of the role of Quebec in the federation.

It is ironic that while Segal makes a point of criticizing the Conservative party's proliferation for self-distrust and inter-ethnic warfare, his book is in part a continuation of that tradition. The supporters of Joe Clark and Kim Campbell will be distressed at the unsympathetic portrayal



Segal happy to overlook the flaws

Segal has the ability to make you laugh out loud

of their also leader. Segal depicts Clark as a disastrous prime minister who understood nothing of the basics of political management, strategic thinking and political leadership. In Segal's view, Kim Campbell should never have been chosen leader of the party, and she has no one but herself to blame for its miserable showing in the 1993 election.

The party chose Campbell because of an negligible search for the new, according to Segal. What it got was an unknown

Kids... making connections

Learning is about making connections - exchanging information, linking concepts, and understanding the logic that binds them together.

Increasingly, learning is also about drawing information from resources located outside the walls of the traditional classroom.

Under the leadership of Industry Canada, **SchoolNet** breaks through these walls, providing Canadian teachers and students with a set of Internet-based educational services and resources.

CANADA
SCHOOLNET

And now Canadian students have reached a boat onto the information highway through a partnership between government and Sator, the alliance of Canada's major telephone companies. The partnership will accelerate plans to provide all Canadian schools with affordable, high-speed access to the Internet by the end of the 1996-97 school year.

To meet this goal, Sator plans to donate two channels on Telus's Ark II satellite for two years*. Schools will have access to **DirectPC** technology provided by Telus Canada, small disk minitape and related hardware to bring the world into the classroom.

The Sator/SchoolNet agreement means that every Canadian student, regardless of his or her location, will have the means to access the best educational content from all over the world,** says Byron James, Chair of the 50-member SchoolNet National Advisory Board.

+ In partnership with the Canadian Telecommunications Association

****** Subject to any necessary regulatory approval

For more information, contact the office of Canada's only full service telecommunications company.

AGT • BC TEL • Bell • Island Tel • MTS • NBTel • NBTel • Newfoundland Telephones • NorthernTel • Quebec Telephone • SaskTel

1-888-NO-DOUGH

Dialing 1-888 works the same as 1-800. It's free.



It's your power.



You don't mind early mornings at the office
Or juggling assignments - putting out fires;
You do it all because in the end, it's worth it.

You've made the right choices.

That includes your radio station,

CHFI at 91

CHFI FM98
Toronto's perfect music mix

BOOKS

quantity that the Canadian public rejected as closer inspection. Segal underlines the difficulties of Mulroney's legacy as well as the contribution of the old team to the debacle of 1993: it asked who is to blame for the loss of party status—the Campbell or the Mulroney team?—an outside observer would have to say, "Both."

The book's portrayal of Mulroney—when Segal served as senior policy adviser and chief of staff in the Prime Minister's Office in the early 1990s—will probably cause the most controversy. While, for obvious reasons, Segal does not address the criticism of Mulroney's style and substance that have been at the heart of so many recent attacks, the book offers a fair reassessment of Mulroney's leadership. Segal is right in his assertion that, on the question of the Constitution and in particular on the big issue of Quebec's role within Canada, Mulroney's instincts have been consistently generous, thoughtful and right. Segal was a major supporter of Ontario premier William Davis's enthusiasm for the patriation process in 1981. So was Mulroney. They also understood that this left the country with unfinished business, which still resonates today.

What Segal does manage to describe is why so many participants in the political process had a view of Mulroney that was different from the view eventually reflected in public-opinion polls. Often well and meant to public, with an inability to avoid hyperbole in describing even the slightest things, Mulroney was consistently amazing and direct in private. Hence, the remarkable loyalty of those around him.

Segal's confidence and personalship get in the way of his political judgment in his conclusion as well. He is resolutely optimistic about the federal party's future under Jean Charest. (Hope truly does spring eternal.) It has obviously been difficult for the federal Tories to absorb the full impact of the 1993 defeat, and the meaning of the rise of the Reform party and Reform-like governments in Alberta and Ontario.

A major political realignment is under way in Canada. It is very hard for a member of Segal's "platoon" to see the party's federal future. I do not say this with any great glee, because the Progressive Conservative party has been a national institution of great importance for the past century and a quarter. But surely life teaches us that it is the values that are critical, and not simply their institutional form. Part of the Tory agenda has been absorbed by Reform. Part has been overtaken by the Liberals. With little room left on the spectrum for the old Tories, Segal's contribution to politics may have to take some other form. In the meantime, enjoy his amusing and forthright account.

Bob Ray is the former NDP premier of Ontario.

MAKE RENEWAL NOTICES A THING OF THE PAST...

JOIN THE CONVENIENT SUBSCRIPTION PLAN

Call us now to join our Convenient Subscription Plan. Instead of several renewal notices, you'll receive a bill or a credit card charge just before your subscription runs out.

1. **It's convenient.** You receive less mail from us, and you can take care of your subscription payment conveniently, right before expiry.
2. **It's environmentally friendly.** We use less paper and every effort counts in trying to preserve our environment.
3. **As always, your satisfaction is guaranteed.** This is a no-obligation, free service. You may cancel your service any time you wish.

To join the plan, or for more information about this convenient new way to do business with us, call...

1-800-268-6811
(or 416-596-5523)

Maclean's

WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

#1056



Campbell, suffocated by the Conservative establishment

BOOKS

The flush of success, the agony of defeat

Kim Campbell tells how she did it her way

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

There is an extraordinary passage in Kim Campbell's new memoir of her life in politics that alone is worth the price of admission. It is Sept. 6, 1995, the last weekend before she called the election that was to result in the resurrection of the Tory party, and she, her new boyfriend Gregory Lekhtman and a handful of other companions are gathered at Barrington Place, the prime minister's country residence "Saturday," she writes. "We blended. I went lounging on the lake with Gregory... and lounged by the dock talking to my sister Gregory had brought several jars of his Thorpey running boots and we all tied them out, lying about on the lawn on powerful springs mounted on the soles." As if all that fun was not enough, that evening she takes a group of women to the residence to teach her and her guests to lie down. "It was Marlowe," she writes.

him and jumping up and down again. "Why would I be embarrassed by that?" she asks now with more than a touch of defiance. "Why would I pretend to be a pious prude who couldn't appreciate the joy in having been given this wonderful opportunity? It's no piece to say, oh well, I was really pleased. This is a book about a person. It's not about a cardboard cutout. I hope when I'm 90 years old I'll still be jumping up and down when something wonderful happens to me."

If Campbell had meticulously defied the odds and led the Tories to victory, or even to a respectable defeat, Canadians might still be applauding her pro-woman enthusiasm as a welcome breath of fresh air, as they did in those fleeting summer weeks of 1993 when her approval rating was the highest of any prime minister in decades. But defeat breeds doubts, and absolute, crushing, humbling defeat of the kind the Conservatives tasted on Oct. 22, 1995, breeds something even more acute. That is the burden that Campbell bears as she weighs in with her version of how the Tories fell from grace. It is a widely publicized magazine excerpt from *Time* and *Clare*, the first touch of the Marlowe on the two senior members of her 1993 campaign team, Allan Rock and John Turturro. The book as a whole is more evocative—

if only because she gives herself a novel place in the party's hall of shame.

In hindsight, she says now, she should have defied Mulroney and grabbed cabinet, where she decided to run for the Tory leadership. That would have established her independence and let her run without the distortion of being defence minister while the Somalia scandal was erupting. But she allowed herself to be lulled by Mulroney, who at one point eagerly lured her ministers that anyone who stepped aside would be delayed. "Yes, I was intimidated by that," she acknowledges now. "It wasn't that I was afraid of him. I was so taken aback that my thinking of stepping down would be seen to be delayed. I was appalled, because it was the hardest thing from my mind." And during the election campaign it

lasted for chilly rooms and cars. There was no time, and she had no one to replace the Mulroney gang. "I realized that I was going to have to make do with that team," she says. "There wasn't a moment to draw a breath." She tried putting her foot down and insisting that they change her schedule to give her more downtime, "but there were always a thousand reasons why it didn't happen." Even Margaret Thatcher, she quips easily enough, took years to put her legendary string of authority on the British Tory party and establish herself as the role model for no-nonsense female leaders. And Campbell, it must be said, is no Margaret Thatcher.

Time and *Clare* may be most suitable for the ghazals it offers of other Tories. Mulroney himself appears as a remote and

outcast. "There was a studied quality to Brian Mulroney, especially in public, a sense that he was playing himself rather than being himself."

Now, she says, she has not spoken to Mulroney since the day in late 1989 when she visited his "elegant, suspicious home" in Montreal and was told that "the party let you down." By then, milder and wiser, she "travelled at the former PM's ability to portray himself as a lone leader in the sage of our party's electoral defeat." About his current legal difficulties, she is understandably guarded. "This must be agonizing for him," as all she will say.

Campbell's relations with Jean Charest were clearly strained, even though she saw some of the obligatory things about supporting him. As she tells it, he began by aggressively demanding leading positions for himself and his supporters in her short-lived cabinet, and ended by casting his intentions behind "Byzantine" manoeuvres after the election defeat. But the most bizarre appearance of all is by Jean Charest, the cabinet defence minister who is now an out-right separatist. At one point, Campbell writes, Masse seriously suggested to her that the reason Mulroney was more sympathetic to French culture in Quebec than was Pierre Trudeau is that culture is transmitted by the mother—until Trudeau's mother was killed in an airplane crash. When Campbell pointed out that Mulroney's mother spoke hardly a word of French, "Masse seemed dumbfounded."

Writing *Time* and *Clare*, Campbell said last week, was the way she finally dealt with the trauma of defeat. She is undoubtedly a strong woman, but to one could under-estimate the psychic energy without bearing upon scars. Her stepdaughter, Pamela Dravitzky, kept a diary during the 1995 campaign that she draws on extensively for the book. Campbell says she could not bring herself to read it for a while years—"It was too painful." Writing, she says, got her going through the emotional catharsis of confronting her own mistakes. "It was not until last summer, when she was working on the chapter about her final campaign, that she finally allowed herself to break down and cry. But that was not the especially surprising. Rather, still trying to come to grips with the messy legacy of Brian Mulroney and Kim Campbell, tears may not be enough. □



At the '93 Tory convention, the catalyst of embroiling my own mistakes

increasingly awkward signs. Campbell did not meet him until well into the 1995 election campaign, and she did not visit 24 Sussex Drive until 1991, for a post-Gulf War reception. When she was summoned to the Presence in 1989 to be installed to join the cabinet as a junior minister, she was so rattled that she missed up the line and missed the meeting entirely. It is a lunch for the new cabinet the next day she felt "very shy" with Mulroney and was impressed that he (with her aid) "tore his lunch just like anybody else." By 1993, though, Campbell had concluded something that any moderately shrewd observer of Mulroney could have told her: that he was determined to monopolize the last-embryo contest to protect his own image. Her most insightful, and most direct,

did not meet him until well into the 1995 election campaign, and she did not visit 24 Sussex Drive until 1991, for a post-Gulf War reception. When she was summoned to the Presence in 1989 to be installed to join the cabinet as a junior minister, she was so rattled that she missed up the line and missed the meeting entirely. It is a lunch for the new cabinet the next day she felt "very shy" with Mulroney and was impressed that he (with her aid) "tore his lunch just like anybody else." By 1993, though, Campbell had concluded something that any moderately shrewd observer of Mulroney could have told her: that he was determined to monopolize the last-embryo contest to protect his own image. Her most insightful, and most direct,

did not meet him until well into the 1995 election campaign, and she did not visit 24 Sussex Drive until 1991, for a post-Gulf War reception. When she was summoned to the Presence in 1989 to be installed to join the cabinet as a junior minister, she was so rattled that she missed up the line and missed the meeting entirely. It is a lunch for the new cabinet the next day she felt "very shy" with Mulroney and was impressed that he (with her aid) "tore his lunch just like anybody else." By 1993, though, Campbell had concluded something that any moderately shrewd observer of Mulroney could have told her: that he was determined to monopolize the last-embryo contest to protect his own image. Her most insightful, and most direct,

All the world's a stage



Toronto's global theatre festival celebrates its 10th year

Performers in Road Movie, Courtesy 14's The Great Seal: giving the cinema community a chance to experiment

There is something in the simple shyness of Valley Song that endears the protest playwrights of the last modern theatre. Using just a painted canvas backdrop and a couple of props (including a handful of pumpkin seeds), South African playwright and director Athol Fugard—who also acts in the production, alongside Veronica (Zemankla) Bitt, his wife—entertains for 90 minutes, in a small fraction of the millions it costs to make the typical Hollywood movie. A knowing take at the now, post-apartheid South Africa, Valley Song recently received its Canadian premiere at the du Maurier World Stage theatre festival, running until April 28 at Toronto's Harbourfront complex. For 2½ weeks, seven theatre companies from abroad (and as many again from Canada) are offering visitors of life in settings ranging from a 19th-century Scottish kilt to a Canadian army base in the Gulf War. And in many productions, the sparse, often minimalist sets make heavy demands on the imagination—a challenge that record-breaking crowds at the 10-year-old festival event have evidently been eager to meet.

Most of the 90-minute performances have sold out—for a total of about 25,000 tickets. And the 12 paid documents featuring such notable figures as American playwright Edward Albee (whose *Three Tall Women* is running in Toronto, but not as part of the festival) and Canadian director Robert Lepage (whose *Shawnee* is getting its

English-Canadian premiere at the World Stage) have proved enormously popular. For artistic director Don Shapiro, the festival's success caps two years of activity in which he staged—on trips abroad and on videotape—about 250 productions. Shapiro points out that, for all the full-throated at-Harbourfront, such festivals are increasingly an endangered species. "In the last few years no similar events have shut down in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago," Shapiro says, imagining that widespread cuts to arts funding are to blame. "We are now the only English language, international theatre festival on the continent."

The survival of the World Stage festival is itself in doubt. The federal government—which owns the Harbourfront facilities—has guaranteed financial backing only until next April, and it is not clear whether a four-season program of support can be worked out between Ottawa and other levels of government. As well, anti-smoking groups and some politicians have argued that cigarette companies such as du Maurier should not be allowed to support the arts. That patronage is crucial to the festival, with its heavy financial obligations to live in theatre companies from abroad. "With out du Maurier we simply would not exist," Shapiro says.

Nonetheless, the shows go on. Audiences seemed to have drawn substantial outsiders in *Shawnee*, written by Southern's Sue Glover and performed by The Traverse Theatre Company of Edinburgh

On a tiered stage, six bonneted, long-sleeved actors portray bandages—female farm labourers who, in the last century, were hired for seasonal work on large estates. The story concerns an older bandage whose husband has emigrated to the wilds of Canada, leaving her to support a mentally handicapped daughter. Spiced with dialect words ("bawls" for cattle feed, "dewie" for suds) and delivered in a thick Scottish brogue, *Shawnee* demands intense concentration from the audience—and rewards it with a compelling, atmospheric tragedy reminiscent of the novella of Thomas Hardy.

Another British production, sung on atmosphere in *The Waste Land* (Powerfully narrated by Fiona Shaw [who plays Mrs. Cost in the current film *Pennemon*], this is a dramatized recital of T. S. Eliot's 1922 poetic masterpiece. Director Deborah Warner has staged the performance in a low-ceilinged, narrow hall inside an old, abandoned whisky distillery. Pivoting the dimly lit space amid her audience, Shaw delivers the poem with a masterful blend of grandeur and confidence. She speaks the famous opening line, "April is the cruelest month," in an almost conversational tone, pausing before "cruelest" as if struggling for the right word. Her technique sets her audience off balance, and gives the familiar poem an extraordinary freshness. A rapidly handsome woman, she can transform in a second to a gawky (and very funny) doppelgänger of a London peb, or into the mythic rose, Thelma, turning the viewer's focus of the poem into a living character. She perhaps gives too much, with her hands—sometimes clutched Eliot's lines too tightly—but that is a small drawback in an electrifying performance.

It is interesting that both British productions by a strong emphasis on language—exploring its richness with as much energy and precision as possible. By contrast, one of the most inventive Canadian contributions brings us language at all. *The Road Movie*, from the renowned Quebec director, Guy Cloutier, is its artistic director, Gilles Malou, is set inside an old Quebec house. Through no fewer than 12 doors—further swinging, banging and creaking open—pour the people who have lived in the house during the past centuries. Ladies in ball gowns, turn-

ers, lovers, drug addicts—they all twist and swirl to the rhythms of passions that have survived death. *Almanac* entirely wordless, *Road Movie* uses music. Allen Loria's spectacular lighting sets the kaleidoscopic talents of its own actor-dancers to create images as vivid as any on stage, and, as so often happens with this kind of spectacle, the show often plays to the eyes to marvel at, but for too little for the mind to chew on. Too often, *Road Movie* falls into a speechless no-man's-land between modern dance and theatre, and grows tedious.

The festival also includes an entry from rural Cuba, *Almanac*, a pallid tale about a Spanish American war and performed in Spanish (with English subtitles). A French troupe, *Que-Que-Que*, offers a circus without acrobats or elaborate props, instead filling its round, white tent with the mimical contortions of acrobats and mime artists. And from the United States comes the oceanic show *Road Movie*, written by Godfrey Hamilton and performed by the astonishing Mark Pollock as Joel. Using only a chair for a prop, the actor creates two characters, Joel and his son, by color. Joel is a San Francisco. Fueled by an underlying grief (the AIDS crisis in the gay community is a major theme), and buoyed by Pollock's belated mastery of the addish character Joel meets, *Road Movie* is performed with such exacting precision that its scenes take on a rock-like quality, both brilliant and memorable.

Finally, the most anticipated show of the festival's closing week comes from Robert Lepage himself. A longtime performer at the Toronto event, Lepage believes such festivals grant artists an essential freedom from the shackles of ordinary commercial theatre. "The festivals allow you to be wrong," he says. "They are trial places, exploratory places. If it weren't for the festivals, a lot of theatre artists would be doing film." Lepage's audience now produces, *Shawnee*, is a version of *Shawnee* directed by Lepage, starring Lepage himself. Lepage's *Shawnee* is a Toronto event, Lepage believes such festivals grant artists an essential freedom from the shackles of ordinary commercial theatre. "The festivals allow you to be wrong," he says. "They are trial places, exploratory places. If it weren't for the festivals, a lot of theatre artists would be doing film." Lepage's audience now produces, *Shawnee*, is a version of *Shawnee* directed by Lepage, starring Lepage himself. Lepage's *Shawnee* is a Toronto event, Lepage believes such festivals grant artists an essential freedom from the shackles of ordinary commercial theatre. "The festivals allow you to be wrong," he says. "They are trial places, exploratory places. If it weren't for the festivals, a lot of theatre artists would be doing film." Lepage's audience now produces, *Shawnee*, is a version of *Shawnee* directed by Lepage, starring Lepage himself.

JOHN DEMBROS

A South African confronts his new society

VALLEY SONG
Written and directed by Athol Fugard

Pepper and Bitt share after all of a reprieve system



The bearded old man standing alone on a bare stage is one of the world's leading theatre artists. He wears a weathered green vest and baggy trousers, and in his open hand is a cluster of white pumpkin seeds. Athol Fugard is playing himself—a successful white author—in the opening scene of *Valley Song*, his new drama that ran for six days at the World Stage festival in Toronto. Fugard is telling his audience about an old colored man, Abraham Jankers, a poor tenant farmer who grows pumpkins and other crops in the dry hinterland of South Africa. As he demonstrates how Abraham plants his seeds, Fugard's voice and manner subtly shift, and in another moment he has become the old man. Thus Abraham's teenage granddaughter, Veronica (Zemankla Bitt), arrives, and the story is under way.

Valley Song is a watershed play for Fugard—his first since the collapse of apartheid two years ago. Throughout his 40-year career, Fugard has written on his outrage at South Africa's institutional racism to help people such as himself as *The Road to Mecca* and *My Children My Africa*. But the road in *Valley Song* is different.

Here is the shadow of the police state. Freedom is at the air. Veronica wants to leave her beloved grandfather and move to Johannesburg. She wants to get a job, to find a better future, to follow her dream of becoming a performer. And what stands in the way is not the old, repressive political system, but Abraham himself. With his own daughter (Veronica's mother) and wife dead, Veronica is all he has. He wants her to stay in the village and take up the domestic work that was good enough for her ancestors.

In a role that could have tempted a young actor into precocity or shrillness, Bitt projects a warm, naive exuberance that drives the heart. As for Fugard, he lends Abraham a wonderfully earthy integrity, it from within by an offish delight in simple things. Something very potent happens between the two actors. They give the relationship between the old man and young girl an archetypal force, as though each were the face of the other's unconscious wisdom.

Veronica's troubled longing for the future is also South Africa's. It is an anticipation for a better future, is anything as strong as here, it may well get them yet.

Allan Fotheringham

The viscountess in the café with a book

It is, as far as a wedding memory can recall, the first time I have ever had lunch with a Viscountess. If you are going to do so, it is only appropriate that you dine with the viscountess in the Café Victoria in the King Edward Hotel in Toronto. Secrecy only proper.

This would be the delightfully named Lady Bangor, who has written a book. Just by chance, since this week is the 70th birthday of Good Queen Bess, the book is titled *Elizabeth: A Biography of Her Majesty the Queen*. It tells you everything you didn't want to know about the wretched regime. It makes a very good coffee-table adornment. No one will read it, but lots of people will buy it.

Viscountess Bangor, in real life Sarah Bradford, knows what she's talking about—she was close to Bess, along with such as Elizabeth Longford and Philip Ziegler, she's one of the few acknowledged experts—none of that Fleet Street trash—on the British Royal Family.

Just to get lunch off to a vigorous start, I ask her how she knows that Prince Philip describes his wife—who doesn't need and only likes kisses—as "If I don't let her eat and eat, she's not interested." Lady Bangor looks me coolly in the eye and says "I knew those things." She has very nice eyes, I must admit.

Her book, a first draft of 694 pages, describes how Philip, with his usual Prussian bluster, "shoots" at his wife. The Queen, writes Lady Bangor, just accepts it, because she thinks all husbands shoot at their wives. How British!

The interesting thing, for all of us who love truth, is the timing of her lunch. We have all been waiting down at the bookstore for the guaranteed epic on Philip's supper lover Kitty Kelly, the American author lured for the lunk job done on both Nancy Reagan and Frank Sinatra, who, she wrote, once ate bacon and eggs off the chest of a prostitute. Mr. Sinatra did not see.

Mrs. Kelly went to London several years ago, refusing to draw readers—and publishers—to reveal the clues and dirty on Philip. The book has yet to appear and Lady Bangor, in all her language, seems to have beaten her to the store, alone, punch.

What do you think, Viscountess, is the deal? She thinks that Kitty, who spilled her liver all over Nancy, has some uncomfortable letters but there is a problem with British copyright laws—being

different from American ones. As for Lady Bangor, she knows her way around the ropes and describes Philip's trips through something called the Thursday Club, where he has bedded with such as David Niven, Stephen Ward—the pimp at the center of the Profumo scandal—Peter O'Toole and the spy Kim Philby.

She says his affairs are always with young, aristocratic, beautiful damsels. No barmaids. Good Queen Bess just closes one eye, if not two, and pretends not to know. She writes of how a lady-in-waiting, thinking of being helped, went to one mistress and tried to tell her what was going on. The Queen fired her; the lady later committed suicide.

Viscountess, is this stuff still going on? "Of course," she replies. "You don't have to call me Viscountess. But you can kiss my hand."

The Lady Bangor is all in black, with the obligatory two strands of pearls. She has one of those plummy first accents that reminds you of the BBC, of lawn and cricket, of tea and cucumber sandwiches (with the crumb cut off). Of all the sounds in the world there is none more pleasant than a plummy Brit accent emitted from the mouth of a female.

Viscountess, you are the only person up the world who would know this—is it true that the queen Mother Simpson had such a build on the Duke of Windsor was that she had spent some time in the Orient and had special tricks? "Oh, you mean 'the Singapore Grip'! He had a very small number, you know."

Lady Bangor was born in Beaconsfield, where, she says, a generous Prince of Wales, later Edward VII, used to bring Lillie Langtry, the famed actress and beauty who became his mistress.

The first husband of the viscountess worked for the Aga Khan. She has written biographies of Churchill, King George VI and Sachdevind Dutt.

Viscountess, does the Queen Mum get into the gin as much as we hear? "She's quite fond of a good tipple. She likes her champagne." The Queen Mum's parties did quite young—"perhaps the gin has preserved her." A most unattractive, no trashier, she says Charles's parents, appalled at his pig case, wanted to have them surgically fixed, but Lord Mountbatten ruled it out. Contrary to the rumor, Bess and Phil share a bed. "Can you believe it? An American reporter asked me, 'Do they still do it?'"

The rumor came when that nut broke into her Buckingham bedroom (he's there, Jean) and he wasn't there. "He had left an hour earlier for Scotland." Nice to get the nut's bedroom stuff.

Lady Bangor, with her upturned hair, looks like 40s, perhaps early 50s. But her biography says "In 1950, having won two scholarships, she studied at Oxford, but left a few months shy of graduation to get married." That would make her close to 60. Good work, I would say.

She says her book has been laced by British "male journalists" because they think she has "let down the side" by her revelations about Philip. As she leaves, I rise and kiss her hand. She looks at. The western page.



By M. J. Jones



RENAISSANCE VAN.

With its classic lines and meticulous attention to detail, Chrysler Town & Country ranks with the world's finest luxury sedans.

But what sets it apart, is versatility. Where else can you find seating for seven, Easy Out Roller Seats™ and a towing capacity of

up to 1888 kg! Chrysler Town & Country. The rebirth of the luxury automobile.



TOWN & COUNTRY

CHRYSLER CANADA • 1 800 361 3700



Official Sponsor of the Canadian Olympic Team. ©COMAGC

MICHELIN *One*

CHOOSE ONE

Ideally, you want the best winter tire, the best wet weather tire, one that offers the most comfortable ride and lasts longer than any other. It's a lot to ask. But Michelin's team of technicians have come up with the answer. After all, it was Michelin who introduced the radial in the first place. Now, we've gone one better.

Introducing the Michelin X-ONE. Quite simply, it's the biggest revolution in tires - ever. Suffice it to say the X-ONE is the result of a series of technological break-

throughs: patented rubber compounds, unique tread designs, the world's most advanced tire construction, to name a few. The real proof, however, is in the ride. And with an unprecedented six year, unlimited mileage warranty, there's more than enough evidence to go around.

So, when it comes to getting your car new tires, there is only one thing you should ask for. Everything.

The Michelin X-ONE. There's only one choice.



MICHELIN
BECAUSE SO MUCH IS RIDING ON YOUR TIRES®

